

IN THESE TIMES

CABBIE
POETS!
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50 Cents

A SEPARATE PEACE A FUTURE WAR



*EGYPT AND ISRAEL AGREE ON
THE SINAI AND LITTLE ELSE*

NICARAGUA AT WAR

*AN INTERVIEW WITH TOMAS BORJE MARTINEZ
CO-FOUNDER OF THE SANDINISTA NATIONAL
LIBERATION FRONT*



THE INSIDE STORY



Russ Christensen

'I'm proud to call myself a socialist'

Guest Column by Burt Hatlen

ORRINGTON, MAINE

Until recently the political life of Maine was dominated by "moderate" Republicans and Democrats like Margaret Chase Smith and Edmund Muskie. But a chronically depressed economy and an influx of urban dropouts has created a new and volatile political climate in the state. Most Maine workers, and many of the urban dropouts, are suspicious of orthodox politicians, whether Democratic or Republican, and the new right has capitalized on this suspicion.

The principal new right spokesman is Gov. James Longley. In his campaign for governor four years ago, Longley presented himself as a populist anti-politician, dedicated only to cutting taxes by bringing "sound business methods" to government. But during his term in office Longley has consolidated his base among working class voters by skillfully orchestrated attacks on "welfare cheats," by resisting all raises for public employees, and by playing upon the fears generated by a suit that two Indian tribes have brought against the state for recovery of certain lands now largely owned by Maine's paper companies. Longley's rhetoric has been directed principally toward workers, but his policies have chiefly served to make Maine safe for the paper companies.

The new political climate in Maine has also created new possibilities for the left. In June an avowed socialist from Bangor, Russ Christensen, won a closely contested Democratic primary election for a seat in the Maine legislature, and he seems to have a good chance to win the general election in November.

In his campaign literature Christensen avoids words like "socialist" or "Marxist." But if a voter asks him to describe his political views, he does not hesitate to call himself a Marxist. "Words like 'socialism' scare American voters," Christensen explained. "But the people of Maine look across the border into Canada, and they think Canadians are lucky to have the kind of

health-care programs which the NDP [New Democratic Party] developed in Saskatchewan. And the NDP, of course, is a socialist party.

"I'm proud to call myself a socialist. But I'm more interested in getting socialist programs before people than I am in labels."

Christensen's campaign literature calls for the use of public funds to establish full-care health clinics and housing co-ops, guaranteed jobs as an alternative to welfare, and increased taxes on Maine's paper companies. He attributes his primary victory to his advocacy of such policies, and to a promise that he will hold weekly open-door sessions for his constituents in a local community center. So far, the voters in Christensen's predominantly working-class district seem responsive to his proposals, and they don't seem frightened by media references to him as a radical and a Marxist.

Demystify the law.

Christensen is a Maine native, although he has lived for 20 years in Latin America and New York. He joined the army in 1950 to serve as a paratrooper in Korea, and he then attended Middlebury College. After graduating from Middlebury, he wandered about Latin America for a time and finally settled in Costa Rica, where he taught high school for a year. In 1960 he returned to the U.S. to attend law school in New York.

After completing his law degree, he went back to Latin America, where for five years he served as deputy director of the CARE programs in Honduras and Chile. In 1970 Christensen moved to New York and spent a year on Wall Street, dealing in stocks and helping to organize business ventures in Central America. In 1972 he returned to Maine, and shortly thereafter he became a staff attorney with Pine Tree Legal Services, an agency that provides free legal assistance to low-income Maine residents. It was during this period that Christensen was, in his own description, "radicalized." He began to see parallels between the influence that American corporations exert over economies of Latin America and the control that the paper companies exercise over Maine; and he also became increasingly aware of the human suffering caused by such economic structures.

Hoping to find an explanation of the chronic poverty of Maine workers, Christensen began to read Marx and other socialist theoreticians. In a few months, the lawyer who had once hoped for a Wall street career was transformed into a socialist; and Christensen's socialist commitments have, he says, shaped his life ever since.

In 1975 Christensen left Pine Tree Legal Services to organize a pre-paid legal service program for Maine University students. Christensen says that this program, which costs students \$3.00 per year, is "the cheapest legal service program in the country." Costs are kept low through intensive use of para-legal aides. The use of such aides also helps, says Christensen, to "demystify the law." People need to realize, he says, "that they can handle many legal problems themselves."

In recent years Christensen has also served as director of a co-op housing corporation and a land trust. He is interested in these enterprises because he sees them as providing models of new forms of collective ownership of property. Christensen was also one of the founders of the Maine Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee chapter, and he offers free legal advice to clients of a Bangor women's crisis center. His goal in all these activities is, he says, to share with others "a vision of a co-operative society rather than a for-profit society."

Marxist summer institute.

As a grass-roots organizer, Christensen is particularly proud of his role in the creation of the Maine Woodsmen's Association. The MWA was founded three years ago, in Christensen's kitchen; and he has served inter-

mittently as an advisor to the two principal leaders of the organization, Wayne Birmingham and Bill Butler. Before the MWA was founded, the men who cut and haul the trees that are the raw material of Maine's paper industry had no representation of any sort. In the period immediately after it was founded, the MWA recruited over 1,000 members.

In late 1975 the MWA called a strike against the paper companies, and for a few days woods operations in the state were almost completely halted. The strike was broken by a court injunction. But the MWA has continued its organizational efforts in the Maine woods, and it has established itself as the chief spokesman for Maine woods-workers. Christensen continues to work closely with the leadership of the MWA.

Another enterprise that currently absorbs much of Christensen's time is the organizing of a Marxist summer institute. The first meeting of this institute will, if Christensen's plans work out, take place at the University of Maine in summer 1979. Christensen believes that such an institute can help to unite the American left by encouraging dialogue between members of the established left parties and young socialists.

The established socialist parties must, Christensen believes, confront the question of authoritarianism, and must develop more open organizational structures. But he sees the commitment of these parties to a rigorous Marxist analysis of the capitalist cultural, political and economic system as a virtue.

Conversely, he is concerned that much of the democratic left lacks the stamina for a long-term struggle, precisely because it has no rigorous theory. An institute that will bring together representatives of all left groups for theoretical discussions can, Christensen believes, help create an American socialist movement that will be both open and democratic in its structure and rigorous in its analysis of the dynamics of capitalism. Christensen is currently recruiting possible faculty members for this summer institute, and he is also seeking foundation funds to provide seed-money for this project.

'I'm not a liberal.'

Christensen's decision to run for the legislature as a Democrat was questioned by some of his socialist associates in Maine. "It's easy for socialists to dismiss the American political system as an instrument of the ruling class," says Christensen, "or to write off the Democratic Party as a capitalist party. But as long as the right is running candidates in elections and is winning, they set the terms of political discussion in this country."

"As far as most Americans are concerned there are only two options. You can be a 'liberal' and support the current mix of corporate power and government subsidies for powerful interest groups. Or you can be a 'conservative' and favor a shift of resources from the public to the private sector. I'm not a liberal, and I don't think you will get to socialism by multiplying liberal programs. I share the feeling that liberal programs aren't working, and can't work."

"But so far the only people who are speaking to this widespread discontent with liberalism are the conservatives. And all they have to offer is a return to the kind of laissez-faire capitalism that gave us the Great Depression. As far as I'm concerned, socialism represents a real alternative both to laissez-faire capitalism and to the welfare state."

"But only a handful of American voters have any sense of what socialism is all about. For most voters, 'socialism' is just a scare word which conservatives use to mean more government control over everything. If we want people to understand what socialism means, we must challenge the right in the media and in the political arena. And that means running candidates in elections."

Burt Hatlen is a professor of English at the University of Maine. He lives in Orrington, Maine.

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THE CAMP DAVID SUMMIT

Sadat scores summit victory

Israel gave up security interests on the West Bank and Sinai. And the Palestinians got the cold shoulder.

By Yoav Peled

NEW YORK

WHEN ANWAR SADAT ASSUMED the presidency of Egypt, following the death in September 1970 of Gamal Abdel Nasser, he decided to replace the Pan-Arab policy of his predecessor with an independent Egyptian policy, designed to regain the Sinai peninsula for Egypt through a bilateral agreement with Israel.

In reply to the questionnaire submitted to her and to Israel by UN mediator Guntar Jarring in February 1971, asking each side what it was willing to do for peace, Egypt stated that it was willing to sign a peace agreement with Israel, if Israel would agree to withdraw from the Sinai peninsula and the Gaza Strip, which it had taken from Egypt in 1967. At that time, Israel was scornful of the suggestion that it should go back to the 1967 borders on any front, and that was the essence of its reply to Jarring.

But last week, seven and a half years, one war and a few media stunts later, both countries signed an agreement that brought Sadat very close to achieving his long-time objective.

No disagreement over principle.

Just as they signify the culmination of a long-held Egyptian policy, the Camp David agreements also satisfy the basic goal pursued by every Israeli government since 1967: continued Israeli control over all the occupied territory or, barring that, a separate peace with Egypt that would allow for continued Israeli occupation of the populated, hence economically significant, West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Egyptian and Israeli goals were achieved, not surprisingly and not for the first time, at the expense of the Palestinians. The threats, angry statements, and silences in recent months stemmed from the difficulty of arriving at a formula that could disguise Sadat's abandonment of the Palestinians. It was not due to disagreement over the principle itself.

Of the two documents signed at the White House on Sept. 17, only one—the Israeli-Egyptian agreement—has any immediate practical significance. According to this agreement, Israel will withdraw its armed forces and, given expected approval by the Knesset, its civilian settlements as well, from the Sinai peninsula. In return, Egypt undertook to sign a peace treaty and normalize relations with Israel within three and nine months, respectively.

The Israeli withdrawal will be phased in over a period of two to three years, and the Egyptians will be allowed to deploy only one mechanized division in an area of up to 30 miles east of the Suez Canal. The rest of the Sinai will be patrolled by UN security forces and lightly-armed Egyptian police. Israeli troops, in a narrow strip on their side of the border, will be limited too, and electronic warning stations will be set up.

Jordan's participation essential.

The other document, which purports to provide a framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan (its labeling as "The Framework for Peace in the Middle East" is totally misleading), embodies, with some modifica-



tions, the ideas presented by Begin to Sadat in Ismailia last December. The heart of this "framework" is the institution of Begin's "autonomy" for the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza (ITT, Jan. 11-17, 1978), with Israeli forces withdrawing to a number of "specified locations" (but not precluded from leaving these "locations" and entering the cities if the needs arises).

Unlike Begin's original proposals, the agreement "invites" Jordan to join with Israel, Egypt and elected representatives of the Palestinians in the administration of the West Bank and Gaza; in fact, it makes Jordanian participation an essen-

tial part of the scheme. This agreement is supposed to remain in force for up to five years after its implementation. During that period the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, as well as an Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty, will be worked out.

This second document is fraught with vague, contradictory and evasive formulations. While it mentions the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements," the best possible outcome of the process envisioned in it would be the delivery of the Palestinians to the hated regime of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. (For residents of

the Gaza Strip, this will be a totally new experience: until 1967 they were ruled by Egypt, not Jordan.)

That outcome depends on the willingness of Jordan, and enough of its Palestinian supporters, to participate in the arrangement in the face of tremendous popular hostility in the West Bank and Gaza. It also depends on a very favorable interpretation of the agreement by the Israeli government.

While the Israeli interpretation will become clear only at the Knesset debates, Prime Minister Begin has already indicated that his understanding of the agree-

Continued on page 18.

Israelis applaud summit agreement

By Gideon Eshet

JERUSALEM

APUBLIC POLL CONDUCTED Wednesday night and published on Thursday morning, Sept. 21, found that 79.8 percent of those asked support the Camp David agreements. Only 10.8 percent oppose them. 61.2 percent are in favor of evacuating the settlements in northern Sinai (the Rafah approaches) while 22.2 percent oppose this.

For most Israelis this is no surprise. The Israeli public is rather conservative. In most cases it will support the current government. It has no strong feelings about the settlements in the occupied territories and if the government says so, they will be evacuated.

The opposition is marginal. Gush Emunim (the Bloc of the Faithful) has declared war on the Begin government. On Tuesday night Gush Emunim members established a camp on a site a few miles south of Nabulus. A cabinet meeting on Wednesday afternoon decided this settlement is illegal and ordered the army to pull the settlers out.

Separate agreement.

In Camp David, Israel and Egypt signed what basically amounts to a separate agreement. According to it, Israel is to withdraw its forces from all of Sinai in two stages.

One crucial item is yet to be decided upon. Egypt has made it a condition that

A new West Bank authority could stop future Israeli settlements and open the way to a Palestinian state.

the Israeli settlements in Sinai be evacuated. The Israeli Knesset is to meet next week to decide on this issue. As things stand now there will be a large majority in favor of the proposed evacuation. Only about ten out of 120 members of Knesset are likely to oppose this. Thus the road is open for an Egyptian-Israeli separate deal.

Could this peace agreement be stable and what about other unresolved issues?

In the short run it depends, to a large extent, on the attitudes of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. President Carter, knowing this, rushed Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to these two countries to get the support of Kings Khaled and Hussein.

The attitudes of these two leaders will be determined by their assessment of the second agreement signed between Israel and Egypt, which specifies the details of an agreement on the future of the Palestinians. This "framework" is especially vague.

On the one hand, the legitimate rights of

the Palestinians are recognized. It also states that the boundaries will be decided by negotiations, thus hinting that the present borders are not the final ones. On the other hand, Israel, Jordan and Egypt are to negotiate on the modalities for establishing the elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza. These negotiations could go on endlessly with the Israelis staying put in these areas.

But the agreement is clear about the following points:

- A self-governing authority is to be "freely" elected by the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. The authority or "modalities" of this self-governing body is yet to be decided.

- After this body starts functioning the Israeli military government in these areas will be abolished. Part of the Israeli army will be withdrawn and the remaining forces will be redeployed into specified security locations.

- Refugees who fled these areas during the 1967 war will be allowed to return. Their number is estimated at about 200,000 people.

Potential for independent state.

It now seems clear to many observers that if the self-governing authority is, in fact, elected, Israeli settlements in these areas will stop. The authority will surely get control over government land that is now used for the Israeli settlements. Israel now holds these lands as the self-proclaimed heir of the Jordanian government.

It is also clear that this authority could declare itself as the constituent assembly of a new Palestinian state. Any agreement signed by Israel is bound by the legal provisions that created this state and especially the 1947 UN partition plan that established the state of Israel.

But most Palestinians do not see this potential in the agreement. The PLO

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IN THE NATION

HEALTH & SAFETY

County Coroner works for the living

By Dan Marschall

TO COMBAT A CONTINUING flood of occupational accidents, an Indiana county coroner, working in one of the nation's most industrialized areas, has turned the resources of his office towards accident prevention and has formed the Coroner's Committee on Industrial Safety, the first of its kind in the country.

In office only nine months, Lake County Coroner Albert T. Willardo has worked to make his department more responsive to community needs, to utilize the expertise of union representatives and to systematize the collection of accident data to better determine the causes of death.

"My work is guided by a central philosophy of getting information out to the public," Willardo told *IN THESE TIMES*. "People have to know exactly what you're doing in order to measure your performance. By turning our attention to prevention, we're slowly showing that we can perform a service no one else in the county can."

"The job of the coroner is not just to pronounce someone dead," adds chief deputy Chuck Smith. "We have to serve the community, save lives, find the real reasons for accidents and help to prevent them in the future."

Working for the living.

To carry out this activist conception of a coroner's duties, Willardo has implemented a number of changes in the functioning of his office:

- Every industrial death is guaranteed a full inquest, where department investigators interview witnesses to determine the cause of death and how similar accidents can be avoided;

- Accident statistics over the last decade are being analyzed by computer to find patterns in industrial deaths, the common factors leading to auto accidents, etc.;

- A full-time forensic pathologist has been hired for the first time in the department's history;

- Daily staff meetings are held to review cases;

- A slide show, entitled "The Never Ending War," has been produced to introduce the coroner's office to high school students, community groups and other Lake County residents;

- The department has sponsored well-attended seminars on topics like workers' compensation and sudden infant death syndrome;

- Willardo writes a weekly newspaper column, "Stop...you're killing me," to reveal some of the "incredible, even bizarre, tragedies" so that the "points of accident and death prevention can be forcibly brought home."

Willardo brings impressive qualifications to these tasks. In the late '50s he graduated from Indiana University with a bachelor's degree in government, an M.D. and finally a law degree. Working as a general practitioner in Hammond, Ind., he served as chief deputy coroner from 1965 to 1974. In November 1976 he amassed over 125,000 votes to win the County Coroner seat. His campaign attracted such attention that more people voted in the coroner's race than in any other county contest.

Preventing accidents.

The Coroner's Committee on Industrial Safety has already generated waves in the steel mills, oil refineries and manufacturing facilities that sit at the southern end of Lake Michigan. The committee includes representatives from the United Steel Workers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the Teamsters, the Operating Engineers, the Retail Clerks and



Dr. Willardo (center) takes aim during gun-training classes with Hammond, Ind., police.

a host of other unions. Permanent management representatives have joined only recently. In monthly meetings, committee members exchange information, look at specific accidents or deaths, and try to pinpoint the causes to prevent future incidents.

The first purpose of the committee, says Willardo, is to provide expertise that would not otherwise be available. By working with union representatives and rank and file members, the Coroner's office gains knowledge about the work processes that vary from plant to plant.

"My main concern," says Willardo, "is to collect the facts in a systematic, logical way and to make them available to the families of those who died suddenly and to the county prosecutor." The Coroner is at the apex of the county's law enforcement structure. Willardo is empowered to issue subpoenas, call grand juries, and, if necessary, arrest the Sheriff.

The committee's second purpose is to make recommendations to prevent future accidents in similar workplaces.

Because the committee has been operating for only four months, it has recorded no major victories thus far. Nevertheless, a recent incident involving Dean Bainbridge, secretary-treasurer of OCAW Local 7-210, illustrates how the committee is starting to exert pressure on lackadaisical employers.

For months Bainbridge had been after the owner of a particular company to correct the construction of a switchhouse in which the floor was below ground level. When it rained, water poured into the switchhouse, creating very hazardous conditions for anyone working the 220-volt switches. After joining the committee, Bainbridge again approached the employer and threatened to report the situation to the coroner.

Then it was a whole different ballgame," Bainbridge told *IN THESE TIMES*. "This employer knew that the coroner would come out to investigate. So he began to raise the floor the next day."

"While it's too early to tell what accomplishments the committee will make, if it helps to stop one or two deaths, then it's well worth the effort. Dr. Willardo is the best thing to come our way since the electric light bulb."

A well-placed ally.

Local health and safety activists hope that through such actions Willardo and his industrial safety committee can begin to fill the gap created by the weak enforcement and understaffing of the state Occupa-

tional Safety and Health Administration. Earlier this year, for instance, Willardo ruled that "willful and wanton negligence" by the company had caused the death of Orison Hatfield, a worker at the East Chicago plant of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. Hatfield was crushed last October by a runaway tractor whose electric brakes failed. For four consecutive months before the mishap, workers on the union-management safety committee had complained that the tractors lacked mechanical brakes and that someone could readily be hurt if the tractors were not repaired.

When Indiana OSHA looked into the case, they imposed what the Steelworkers union denounced as a "laughably light" fine of \$1,000. Even that was reduced to

\$200 in back-room negotiations between OSHA and the company.

When Willardo reexamined the incident he urged that "if criminal action is possible" against the company, "it should be considered." His involvement in the case has resulted in a back-and-forth verbal battle between the company and the Coroner's office.

"In the war on workplace accidents and disease," concludes Dave Simmons, director of the Chicago Area Committee on Occupational Safety and Health, "workers need all the allies they can find. Willardo has brought together key labor people and has enhanced communication between unions that usually don't have much contact with each other. He seems to be a well-placed and influential ally." ■

NUCLEAR

Wisconsin declares nuclear moratorium

By Thomas Galazen

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION of Wisconsin (PSC), an agency responsible for regulating utilities within the state, has declared a moratorium on future nuclear plants, beyond two units already being considered for construction permits.

The decision came at the end of an "advance planning" process involving 78 days of hearings and over 13,000 pages of transcript. The PSC examined energy demand forecasts for the next 20 years, proposed generating facilities over the next 15 years, and transmission lines planned during the next ten years.

"Nuclear generation," the Commission declared in late August, "is likely to be more costly than coal when considering present uncertainties in fuel, decommissioning, and waste disposal costs."

"The questions of safe and available storage for nuclear wastes, methods and cost of decommissioning, and availability and cost of nuclear fuel in the long term are matters of significant concern," the PSC concluded.

The stand against nuclear power hinged in part upon the lack of a facility for per-

manent disposal of spent nuclear fuel. "Virtually all testimony," the Commission said, "concurred that federal policy regarding nuclear waste management has been indecisive, tardy, not responsive to the industry, and lacking in execution."

The Tyrone nuclear plant, proposed for western Wisconsin, was one unit that will still be considered by the Commission. That facility has been fought for years by an array of activist and citizen groups that have promised to use massive civil disobedience to stop construction of the plant.

Nevertheless, Charles Cicchetti, chair of the Public Service Commission, has stated that "the need-related burden of proof, which we have placed on the proponents of Tyrone, is nearly insurmountable."

"However," Cicchetti continued, "with tens of millions invested, I am willing to give the western utilities the chance of convincing me and making their case that this plant is in the public interest of Wisconsin."

Nuclear opponents have long argued that atomic power is too costly, compared with other sources of energy. It appears, at least in Wisconsin, that those arguments are at least beginning to be heard. ■

ENERGY

Congress gas battle peaks

By David Moberg

REP. RALPH METCALFE'S downtown Chicago office was crowded. The people were friends and supporters, representatives of consumer groups, the elderly, progressive unions and liberal political organizations, who had taken for granted Metcalfe's nearly 100 percent voting record in favor of labor and consumers in Congress.

They were not accustomed to lobbying him to change a vote as they were this day, and neither was he. But they had been surprised that Metcalfe had voted for deregulation of natural gas prices last year. They wanted to be sure that he would vote against the current natural gas policy—an odd child born out of 18 months of the intense labor of labyrinthine lobbying and adopted by the Carter administration—if it survived the debate now occurring in the Senate.

The bill would boost consumer gas prices unfairly, pour \$50 billion additional revenue into the treasuries of the oil and gas companies, boost inflation and thereby weaken the dollar, hurt old people and the poor in particular and not even guarantee that more gas would be produced, the lobbyists, pulled together by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, argued. But without submitting to the gas producers' demands, Metcalfe feared people in his district would be even worse off—perhaps facing wintertime shortages as gas was bottled up in the intrastate market, losing jobs because of inadequate fuel, losing factories to the gas-producing states in the Sun Belt.

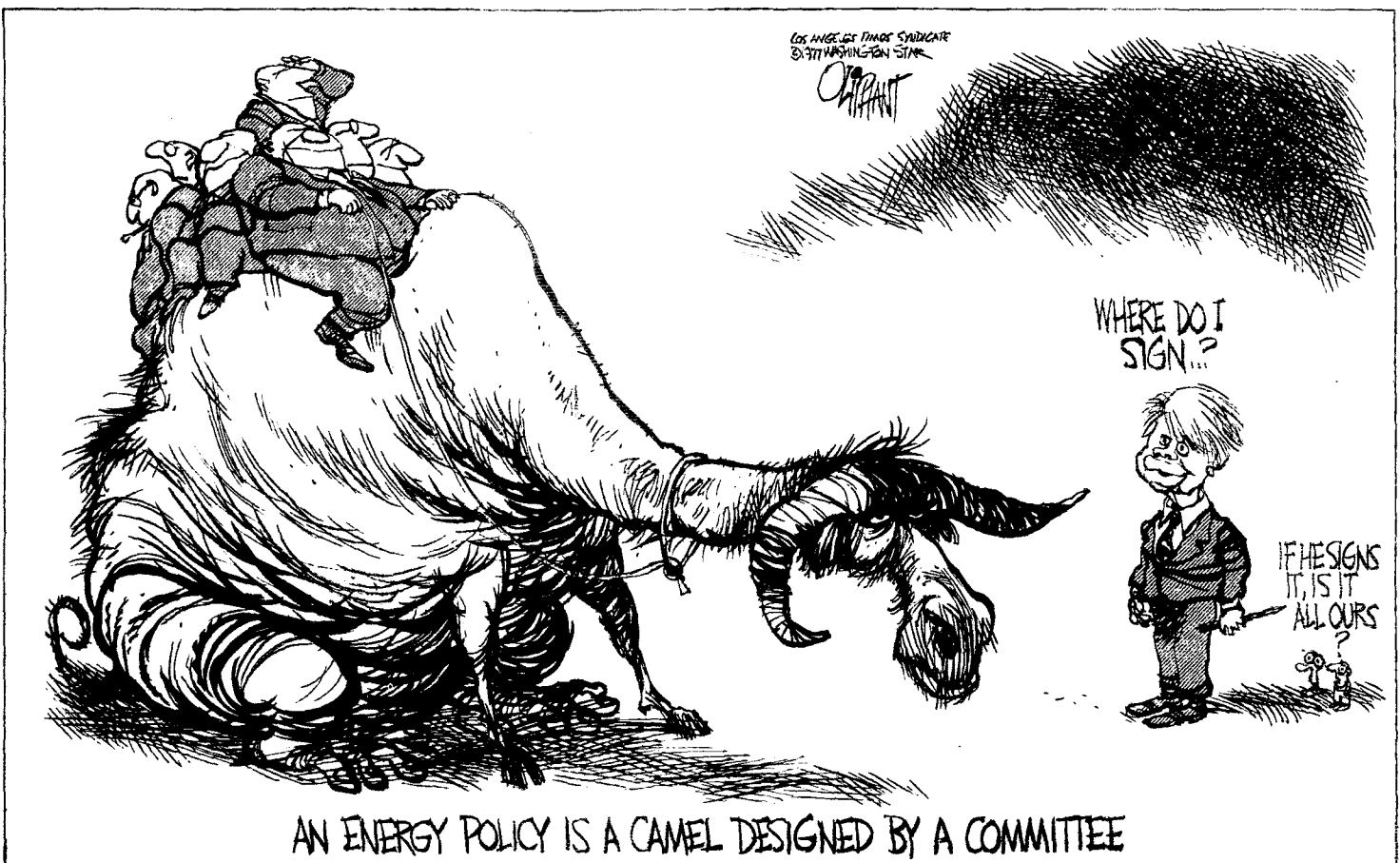
It was an odd confrontation for all involved, but it was hardly the oddest political alignment to occur as the final, monumental showdown on natural gas pricing was taking place. In August it looked like Carter was about to lose the gas portion of his energy bill in the Senate. One other major section—taxes on oil to raise prices to the OPEC level—had been dead for some time. Three others, on coal conversion, utilities and conservation, were virtually certain of approval. But the administration, determined to win the gas-pricing portion, refused to move forward with the three parts that would have made a useful energy bill. Instead, critics say, they held those sections "hostage" to gas pricing.

You scratch my back...

The Gas Compromise bears little resemblance to the legislation in Carter's energy plan, which raised gas prices but continued controls and expanded interstate access to intrastate gas production. Yet the Carter administration has made the Compromise a testing ground of loyalty not only to the President but also to the nation and the dollar—"the moral equivalent of the Panama Canal treaty," as one critic said.

Top administration officials, including energy chief James Schlesinger, Vice-President Walter Mondale, and Federal Reserve Board chairman G. William Miller, have been working full time to persuade wavering Senators to back the Compromise. They have been accused of manipulating and manufacturing statistics. They have also been accused of a wide range of deals to gain votes—expanded breeder reactor development in exchange for Idaho Sen. James McClure's vote, a federal judgeship for Montana Sen. Paul Hefield, grants and public works projects or ambassadorships and other appointments to other Senators, and promises of tax relief, export barriers and other aid to steel and textile firms. Industrial representatives in particular have been wooed to support the bill and then lobby with reluctant Senators.

Arrayed against the administration amalgam of liberals and conservatives, people who had previously favored total deregulation or opposed it, is a political—even stranger alliance between liberal,



AN ENERGY POLICY IS A CAMEL DESIGNED BY A COMMITTEE

With breeder bribes, dollar scares and pleas for loyalty, Carter won a first round on gas.

pro-consumer Senators and conservatives who want no federal controls at all.

In the first showdown between these forces, Compromise supporters won. On Sept. 19 the Senate voted 59 to 39 not to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to strike all of the pricing provisions except for a provision covering new gas from Alaska and to keep presidential authority for emergency allocations of gas. Opponents plan to offer another recommitment motion, perhaps sweetened with a few concessions, in an attempt to divert the bill before the final vote, which is scheduled for Sept. 27.

Although they believe they still have a chance to win in either the recommitment or final vote, opponents are shifting their attention toward the House. The first important fight there would probably be over division of the energy bill. House speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, acting for the administration, will try to keep all parts together, presenting members of Congress with a choice of a bill with the gas-pricing compromise or no bill at all.

What the bill will do.

Debate on the bill has been complicated not only because the politicians involved have differing ideologies, interests and goals but also because there are widely divergent estimates of precisely what the bill will do.

The gas pricing bill, in brief, does the following: (1) deregulates after 1985 all gas defined as "new," which includes some already discovered; (2) deregulates some other categories of gas, including those from exotic sources such as geopressurized deposits, within a year; (3) sets the ceiling for new gas now at \$1.98 per thousand cubic feet (MCF) compared to the current \$1.50/MCF and allows it to rise by about 4 percent a year above inflation; (4) establishes some limited federal jurisdiction over intrastate gas, although far less than in the House-passed bill; (5) sets up a much-compromised incremental pricing plan that was intended to pass on rising costs disproportionately to certain categories of industrial users to encourage conservation (but now it will instead pass on some expense of new, higher-priced gas to residential users, who will pay more for gas in 1985 under the Compromise than under either the House or Senate bills); (6) provides for a complex array of price categories—between 17 and 29, depending on who's counting

—that the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission acknowledges will be difficult to administer.

Administration spokespeople have argued that the bill is necessary to save the ailing dollar, but critics respond that the decline of the dollar stems from a variety of problems other than energy imports. Besides, the gas bill will reduce imports of oil by only 300,000 barrels a day, according to the Energy Information Administration. European and Japanese governments have been pressuring Carter to cut imports of oil to reduce worldwide demand and the likelihood of their own prices going up faster.

Also, the Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda worried recently that a declining dollar, used as the currency of international pricing, could lead to a spiral of oil price increases. Yet critics maintain that an inflationary gas pricing bill will only weaken the dollar further.

Will gas supply increase?

For the \$29 billion in extra revenue to gas producers estimated by the EIA—now raised to \$41 billion by last-minute changes in the bill, according to Ohio Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, production could increase over current expectations by 5 percent (or two trillion cubic feet) by 1985 in the optimistic forecast of Sen. Henry Jackson, or by 3.5 percent in the more modest projection of the Congressional Budget Office.

Even those guesses could be thrown off if the companies spend their new income on acquisition of diversified industries, higher prices for drilling rigs (now pushed to the limit of production), bidding up mineral rights or other non-productive activities. Sen. William Proxmire also warned that gas companies may decide that they are earning more in appreciation of the value of gas in the ground—especially in anticipation of deregulation—than they would in producing it. The goal of more gas for interstate consumers is also partly thwarted by the continued separate treatment of intrastate gas and limited federal authority to reallocate it.

Although supply of natural gas will actually decline somewhat between now and 1985 despite the great increases in producer revenue, there is a potentially large supply of gas, particularly the geopressurized supplies in brine off the Gulf Coast. Such exotic sources could yield

from three to six thousand trillion cubic feet of gas by current estimates, enough to last 150 years at current rates of consumption, but undoubtedly at much higher prices. Yet deregulation, Robert Scott, energy researcher Barry Commoner's Center for Biology of Natural Systems, is not an efficient way of getting this new gas "because you can't rely on the oil companies to provide a supply of gas at a reasonable price. Because of incredible demand and inelasticity in response to price there is a large area for potential abuse of consumers." The current bill, he says, will not yield the new gas but simply "increase the power of oil companies versus the public."

The oil companies already have immense power: they control the flow of gas even if the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission nominally controls the price. They have even been able to push up the price from an average of 17¢/MCF in 1970 to 78¢/MCF in 1977 under regulators friendly to the companies. When Sen. Metzenbaum argued that FERC was now prepared to act for consumers and would not raise gas prices as much as the Compromise, Sen. Henry Jackson responded, "The trouble with that argument is that the Federal Energy Commission does not have the power they should have, which is to get the gas."

Indeed, that is the power the federal government needs—to produce the gas that exists in the most efficient way, directing it toward the uses that make most sense for a national energy policy. Instead of doing that directly, as public ownership of natural gas and oil resources would allow, Congress is left with two inadequate alternatives. One is regulation that the companies can subvert, particularly with the help of their allies in Congress. The other is deregulation that turns over to a cartel created by Congress the power to exact whatever price it can from a captive public and then use the money for whatever it wishes.

Short of such public ownership and rational production, continued regulation is by far the preferable course for protecting consumers while increasing supply, even for saving the dollar.

At this point the convoluted politics of the natural gas bill seem beyond much clear-headed debate. When not mired in the conflicting estimates of how gas companies will respond to their largesse, many members of Congress seem to have passed into the ethereal realm of playing poker with international bankers and of giving Carter and Congress the chance to crow, "We did something. (But don't ask too closely what it was.)" ■

THE LAW

Pistol-packing cop kills unarmed man

By Ed Newbold

SEATTLE

COINCIDENTAL FACTORS" were the words used by Republican County Prosecutor Chris Bayley to dismiss the circumstances surrounding a police shooting incident in Seattle—a shooting that cost the life of a 26-year-old black man named John Rodney.

Rodney, an unarmed burglary suspect, was shot in the back after a long foot chase by two police officers. Press reports later revealed that Rodney had been a resident of a state institution for the retarded for five years and had a history of nonviolent crime. He also had a "pattern of running on any occasion when he was confronted by police," according to a spokesperson from the Public Defender Association.

On the other end of the pistol from Rodney was police officer Dennis Falk, who has been in the news lately in another capacity—as co-chairperson of an organization called Save Our Moral Ethics (SOME). SOME has just filed a petition called Initiative 13 that will put Seattle's gay rights ordinance to a test in the November elections.

The shooting also occurred in the midst of a struggle to define future police department firearms policy. Tough new regulations—which would have clearly ruled out the Rodney killing—had already been passed by the city council but were not scheduled to take effect until November. If the Policeman's Guild gets it way, however, the new rules won't last much longer than it takes a gendarme to say "Stop, or I'll shoot." A police-sponsored petition has put another measure, Initiative 15, on the November ballot. If passed, 15 would nullify all legal restrictions placed on police shooting since the 1960s. "It would take us two steps back," says black attorney Lem Howell.

If the personalities involved and timing surprised anyone, however, the outcome of a coroner's inquest into the incident certainly didn't. The night before the inquest began, Howell, the Rodney family lawyer, had told a group of Rodney's supporters, "I can't tell the Rodney family that we're going to get justice—because we're not."

Shooting through a fence.

On Sept. 9, an all-white jury of six citizens handed down a 4-2 decision: Falk used "reasonable" judgment in killing Rodney.

The two-day inquest examined the alleged Rodney burglary, during which Rodney canvassed several houses and entered two without permission. At each house Rodney has asked to mow the lawn. Lem Howell was able to show that none of the family had found Rodney's behavior "threatening" or "menacing," although some were naturally frightened by a stranger in the house. Nothing was stolen.

Officer Falk took over the chase upon his arrival at the scene and shot Rodney once in the heel as Rodney climbed a tall fence that Falk, who is stout, could not negotiate. Falk fired the second, deadly shot through the fence and hit Rodney in the back. Falk testified at the inquest: "The fence was so high that if he got over this fence, I would lose sight of him and lose him if I did not fire. By finding a slot in the fence where I could place my revolver, I got a second chance to stop him."

Howell argued, but was not able to prove, that Falk did not yell "Halt, Police," or "Stop, or I'll shoot," as he claims. None of the witnesses who heard the shots (four policemen and the owner of the house on whose lawn Rodney died) heard the alleged warnings.

After the inquest, the police depart-

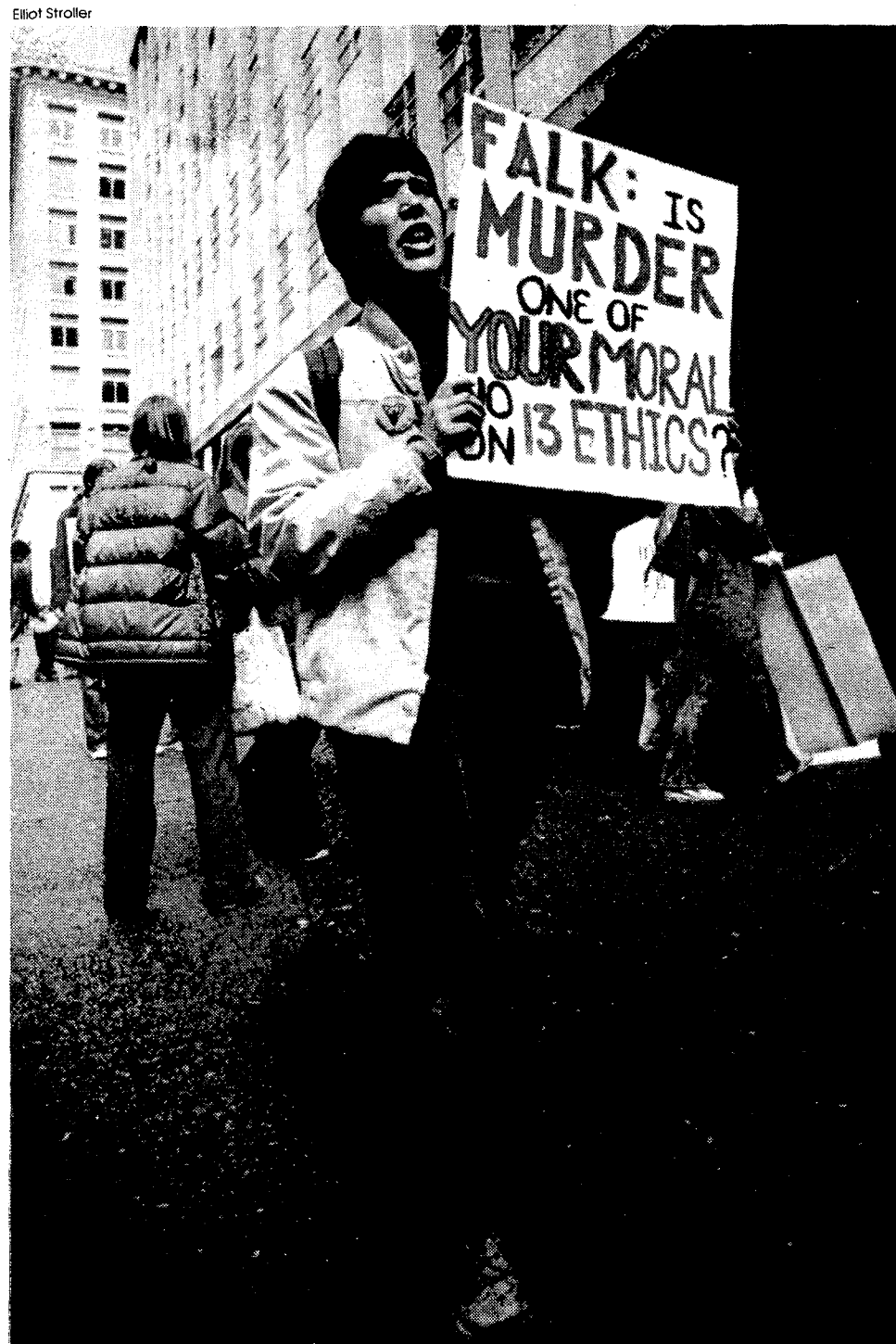
Dennis Falk, a policeman who is also a John Bircher and sponsor of an anti-gay initiative, shot and killed an unarmed black man.

ment removed Falk from active duty "indefinitely," but prosecutor Bayley confirmed that his office would not bring charges against the policeman.

Humanism is the problem.

Officer Falk, a 14-year member of the John Birch Society and its local "section leader," had achieved notoriety in the Vietnam era when his beat was the volatile University of Washington district of Seattle. His lead-lined gloves, he boasted to a Seattle daily newspaper, were "very effective" in gaining "respect in the district." More recently, Falk joined with another city policeman to launch SOME and the local crusade against gay rights. But homosexuality, contends Falk, is not the main problem in America: "Humanism is the problem in America."

Meanwhile, there is anger in the black and gay communities. The *Medium*, a moderate black weekly, has condemned the murder in unequivocal terms. Two demonstrations have both attracted hundreds of people and picket signs asking such questions as "Save whose moral ethics?" and "Is the Seattle Police Department the armed wing of the John Birch Society?"



Demonstrators protest murder by policeman in Seattle, Washington.

Attorney Lem Howell, for his part, is considering filing a "wrongful death" civil suit against Falk and the city.

But for John Rodney, who was described by a former counselor at the Buck-

ley School for the retarded as "one of the most lovable residents there," the case is closed.

Ed Newbold is a staff member of the *Northwest Passage*, an alternative newspaper in Seattle.

STUDENTS

Congress forecloses on student loans

By Harrison H. Donnelly

WASHINGTON

AT LEAST THEY'RE NOT KEEPING their IOUs in shoe boxes anymore. But officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) still have a long way to go to overcome the negative public image of the college student loan program.

Often cited as a prime example of waste in government spending, guaranteed student loans have been plagued by a high default rate by ex-students who don't want to repay banks, or the government, for their educational loans.

Students get the guaranteed loans directly from banks or other lenders. The federal government and 31 participating state agencies promise to repay the loans if the student does not. States are reimbursed by the federal government for 80 percent of their repayment costs.

For most students, the government pays the interest on the loans while they are in school. The loans are supposed to be repaid within ten years after the student leaves school, at 7 percent interest.

The problem is that too many students are refusing to repay their loans, leaving the government with the bill. At the peak, in May 1978, there were more than 400,000 loans in default, involving a total of \$400 million.

Chaotic management.

HEW officials argue that the main cause of the problem has been the chaotic management left over from previous administrations. "The program was administered very poorly in the past," charged Leo Kornfeld, head of the HEW Bureau

of Student Financial Assistance.

For example, in some regions records were kept on index cards and stored randomly in cardboard boxes.

Congress scrutinizes a student loan program plagued by chaotic management and a high student default rate.

Even with its limited manpower, HEW failed to take the most obvious step against the defaulters—sending them a bill. The department notified almost no defaulters that it wanted its money back.

Clearly, most people weren't anxious to volunteer payment for bills they never got.

The most serious problem with defaults has been concentrated among students in for-profit vocational schools. Despite the image of the well-paid college graduate defaulter, the greatest concentration of defaulters has been among working-class students who felt cheated by these "proprietary" schools.

"A lot of people who are not paying their loans were victimized by the proprietary schools," said one congressional aide. Concentrating on signing up students in order to get their tuitions, which were often paid for by guaranteed loans or other federal grants, many of the schools have offered second-rate instruction.

Embarrassing measures.

Large numbers of students dropped out and were unwilling to repay loans for what they considered a "rip-off."

In addition, the declining value of a college degree on the job market left many graduates resentful, and often simply unable to pay their loans.

One of HEW's first steps to crack down on the defaulters proved highly embarrassing, if necessary. Comparing the names of federal employees with those of the defaulters, the department found that 222 of its own employees, and 6,783 among all federal workers, still owed the government money—including 23 employees earning more than \$30,000 a year.

The next step was to contact all defaulters directly. Getting the most recent addresses available from the Internal Revenue Service, HEW at least notified the defaulters that it had not forgotten them.

One strategy that has had a substantial impact has been to ask the Justice Department to prosecute defaulters. More than 1,500 cases were referred to Justice between November 1977 and July 1978. In many cases the threat of prosecution alone is enough to persuade defaulters to begin to repay.

HEW decided to go slow, however, on a plan to turn over all the defaulters to private collection agencies. Officials were concerned that the tactic might seem to be encouraging the sometimes vicious and harassing methods of private collectors.

Califano and Kornfeld argue that their new efforts already have begun to bear fruit. From the high of 400,000, the number of defaulters who are not attempting to repay their loans has declined to about 350,000. Califano said federal collectors were persuading about 1,200 defaulters a week to begin to repay their loans—a rate four times that of a year ago.

(©1978, Congressional Quarterly)

LABOR

Arbitrator writes mail pact

Robert Gumpert

By David Moherg

POSTAL WORKERS WON A LITTLE, lost a little in the arbitrated settlement of their contract dispute with the Postal Service announced on Sept. 15. Yet it was the acceptance of arbitration itself and the limitation of the renewed contract discussions to pay increases and the no-layoff clause that most angered militant local union leaders and rank-and-file groups.

They argued that the Letter Carrier and the Postal Worker union leaders had violated a constitutional requirement to resume collective bargaining and to submit the results to the membership if the original contract were rejected.

Also, when members of the three unions involved—including the Mailhandlers—turned down the first contract, the critics maintain, they were upset with far more than the pay. Disciplinary procedures, mandatory overtime and other working condition issues in the contract were not even reconsidered.

Harvard professor James Healy, appointed as arbitrator by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, handed down his binding agreement after the unions and the postal service failed to reach an agreement within the 15-day period set for the new talks.

Pay package boosted slightly.

Healy increased the original pay package for the average worker by about \$300 over the life of the contract. Also, he shifted more of the money to the beginning of the contract. Instead of pay increases of 2 percent, 3 percent and 5 percent in the three years, Healy awarded \$500 in the first year, 3 percent in the second and \$500 in the third. That would narrow the pay differential slightly and work to the advantage of lower-paid postal employees.

Although union representatives thought that the pay boost by Healy was small, they were generally cheered by his removal of the limit on cost-of-living increases written into the earlier pact. Even with the cap off cost-of-living adjustments, however, postal workers would still probably lose real income if the inflation rate continues as high as it has been. Under the formula they use, workers recover roughly 65 percent of the pay losses due to inflation. Overall, assuming a 6.5 percent rate of inflation, the union estimated that workers would receive a 21.3 percent wage increase during the three years, compared with 12.5 percent under the rejected agreement.

The union's loss came in the revision of the protection of regular workers against layoffs, one of the most fervently cherished provisions in the contract. Healy ruled that any employee in the regular work force—full-time regulars, part-time employees with regular schedules and part-time employees with flexible schedules—on Sept. 15 would be protected "to the north" from any involuntary layoff. However, anyone hired after Sept. 15 would get the protection only after working for six years.

Although Postal Service spokespersons believed that the change would give management more "flexibility" and power to control the workforce, nobody was very clear about what the impact would be. Since the Postal Service has been cutting back its workforce—roughly 85,000 workers in this decade—few new full-time employees are hired. Most of them come from the ranks of part-timers, among whom there is high turnover in many locations. ("Part-timers" often work very long hours, as much as 60 a week, for extended periods, despite their job description.)

William Fox's, president of the Cleveland local of the Postal Workers and head of the National Conference of Local Presidents that threatened a strike over any arbitrated settlement, said that the postal unions must now work out detailed contractual language from wanting the arbi-



Postal workers are worried that the final settlement will permit management to escalate the rate of employee attrition and increase workloads.

trator's agreement within the next 60 days. Burris argues that it is crucial that all lay-offs are made according to seniority. If that is done, he believes that workers will not have lost much security, since under the old contract the 130,000 part-time employees had to serve four years before they were covered by the no-lay-off clause.

But Vincent Sombrotto, the president of the New York branch of the Letter Carriers who is currently challenging president Joseph Vacca for his job, feared that the Postal Service "can escalate the rate of attrition of regular employees and replace them with new people who do not have job security. Management can put the screws to people. That's the great give-back in this settlement. It wasn't worth the money."

Amnesty for strikers?

Pat Moore, editor of the *Rank and File Postal Worker* and an employee of the Richmond, Calif., bulk mail center who was fired for taking part in the widest

strike this summer, was concerned that changes in the disciplinary procedure that remained intact would facilitate such harassment and attrition.

Although a Postal Workers union spokesperson said that the unions would do everything possible to win amnesty for the 185 people in New Jersey and California who were fired for striking, the Postal Service is holding up any discussions until after the contract is officially signed. Most workers will probably be reinstated, but comments by Postal Workers president Emmet Andrews suggest that a few "ringleaders" will be axed.

Although the arbitrated settlement is binding, Letter Carriers and Postal Worker leaders are polling their members on the new contract, as their constitutions require. Critics, such as Sombrotto, have denounced the balloting as a "total scam, a charade." Some New York Postal Worker members even tried to block it with a court injunction. Rejection of the settlement could bring a strike, but most observers expect it to be approved. They

think that workers are tired of the contract dispute and cynical about the effect of their decisions, since the arbitration flouted their will.

Both Sombrotto and Burris worry about the effect of the arbitrated settlement on the "credibility" of the union to management, the morale of the membership and the future of collective bargaining in the postal service.

"In the future postal workers will have bad feelings about rejecting a contract," Burris predicted. "They won't feel that it does any good. Also, now we have developed a precedent on what will be done after the first 90 days of negotiation. This arbitrated settlement will always be pointed to, rather than attempt to find some collective bargaining means. Arbitration will never award us the progress in vacation time, holidays, premium pay and other areas where we have made no progress in 20 years, and with the possibility of holding out for arbitration there's no pressure on management to negotiate at the bargaining table."

GM abandons its southern strategy

By Evan Hendricks

ONLY TWO MONTHS AGO, United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser blasted General Motors for trying to prevent unionization in its soon-to-be-opened plants in the South, and promised: "If corporations like General Motors want confrontation, they cannot expect cooperation from labor."

After Fraser personally repeated this warning to GM chairman Thomas A. Murphy, company president Elliot Estes announced a new hiring policy offering preferential treatment to UAW workers who wanted to transfer to a southern location.

In a statement released Sept. 11, Estes also said that "GM has no objection to the UAW becoming the bargaining representative of employees in new GM plants."

Fraser, who was reported to be "walking on cloud nine" as a result of the announcement, reacted by stating, "The fulfillment of GM's commitments will put behind us the problem of the 'Southern Strategy' the union has faced for a

few years. And the procedures agreed upon should make it clear to workers at a non-union GM facility that they are absolutely free to choose union representation without fear of reprisals."

The new agreement went into effect im-

"If corporations like GM want confrontation they cannot expect cooperation from labor."

mediately at four new GM plants at Albany, Georgia, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and Three Rivers and Constantine, Mich., under provisions of the existing UAW contract.

Another site slated for preferential hiring is a new assembly plant in Oklahoma City, Okla., which is expected to employ up to 4,000 workers by next spring. The remainder of the new GM plants involved in the agreement are either still on the drawing board or under construction, including shops at Laurel and Meridian, Miss.; Shreveport, La.; Fitzgerald, Ga.; Athens, Ala.; Wichita Falls, Tex.; and

Fredericksburg, Va.

According to a union source, the new policy is crucial to those members who came from the South and wanted to transfer to jobs in their home states, but didn't want to risk losing their union status. Prior to the new policy, UAW workers were forced to surrender their seniority and union benefits when seeking jobs in southern GM plants. Under the new agreement, they can apply for new positions at their current workplace, thus sparing them the time and cost of an extra trip south.

"In the past," explained one UAW spokesman, "if an applicant for a southern position indicated that he even knew what the word 'union' meant, he had very little chance of getting the job. And anyone who wanted to organize workers was forced to stand by the gate and hand out leaflets."

"With experience union personnel inside the new plants," he continued, "other workers will have more of an opportunity to learn what the union can do for them, and they won't look on organizers as 'outsiders.'"

Evan Hendricks writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

IN THE WORLD

NICARAGUAN WAR RAGES

BY BLASE BONPANE

"I'LL GIVE THIS COUNTRY PEACE IF I HAVE TO KILL EVERY OTHER MAN IN NICARAGUA TO GET IT!" SAID Anastasio Somoza Garcia while trying to put down the Sandinista patriots in the early '30s. And now President Anastasio Somoza Debayle seems willing to kill everyone in Nicaragua rather than resign, as the majority of the people want.

The Sandinista Liberation Front has established a provisional government. It published a document stating its objectives. These include the expropriation of Somoza's lands, which will be given to landless farmworkers, the rights of free speech and assembly, and guarantees of a job, healthcare and education.

The three signers of this most recent document are Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Victor M. Tirado Lopez and Humberto Ortega Saavedra, the directors of the Front.

Through his raids on guerillas suspected to be in Costa Rica, Somoza has spread the civil war to all of Central America. Venezuela has assured Costa Rica that any further intrusions will be answered by the Venezuelan air force. (Costa Rica does not have an army, simply a police force.) With the support of Panama and Mexico, President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela is trying to get the Organization of American States to censure the Somoza regime.

But Father Ernesto Cardenal, a Front priest, reports that Guatemalan and Salvadorian troops have landed at Cosanguina Beach on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua near the town of Chinandega. Cardenal insists that these troops are part of CONDEC, the Central American Defense Council, a CIA coordination of Central American armies, friendly to the Somoza regime. The U.S. State Department has denied the allegation.



SANDINISTA LEADER TELLS FRONT'S STORY

By Michele Labrut

Tomas Borje Martinez was one of 55 prisoners released from jail on Aug. 25, when the commando group "Rigoberto Lopez Perez" attacked the Legislative Palace, in Managua, taking as hostages several deputies and ministers, including President Anastasio Somoza's nephew.

Tomas Borje Martinez was a founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. In 1956, while a student at the university, he was condemned to five years for involvement in Anastasio Somoza Garcia's assassination. He escaped and joined other exiled revolutionaries with whom he founded the Front. He has been arrested several times. The last time, he was sentenced to 30 years for conspiring against the state's security. For nine months he was left with his head covered with a hood, handcuffed and badly tortured. He was in jail a total of three years. He is considered to be the Front's theoretician and is expected to be its next general secretary.

The interview was conducted in the Republic of Panama, in the National Guard quarters at Tinajita, some 20 miles from the city of Panama where the government hosted them. Some days after, he left Panama to join the Front's forces.

Tomas Borje Martinez, as a founder of the Front, could you explain how it was created?

It's true, I am one of the Front's founders. But to explain its origin, it's necessary to remember antecedents. In 1926, American imperialism occupied Nicaragua and the traditional politicians not only accepted it, but even applauded the intervention. A solitary voice spoke up, a worker's voice, Augusto Cesar Sandino's, and when the Marines asked him to surrender, he did not sell himself, he did not surrender. Our nation's rebirth began with Sandino's act.

After Sandino's death in February 1934, a long silence fell over our country. It returned to its traditional isolation. Culture was monopolized by the dominant class

and limited to aesthetic forms, to girls' beauty. People forgot about exploitation. Besides exporting coffee, Nicaragua started to export its poetry.

Political apathy and loneliness were broken in 1956 when Rigoberto Lopez Perez executed the tyrant Anastasio Somoza, father of the dynasty. We know his act inspired many revolutionaries, particularly the Cubans.

In 1958, when the Cuban Revolution had not yet triumphed, an old man, Ramon Radales Morales, established the guerillas in the mountains, but in 1959 they were smashed by the enemy's armed forces. To unite such dispersed efforts it was found necessary to create the army, the Sandinista National Liberation Front. It was an historical answer, a synthesis of all our struggles, an unavoidable synthesis.

From the beginning, the Front was closely tied to the workers, citizens and peasants; since its first guerilla action, in 1963 at Rio Coco in the mountains, its activity was, in one way or another always tied to popular backing. Rio Coco was a military defeat but at the same time the Front's first political victory. Further experiences confirmed not only that military victories are political victories but also that military defeats could be political victories. Every time our guerillas were on the point of being exterminated, dozens and hundreds of new revolutionaries joined them.

Today, if we look backwards, we realize our fears were not correct. The Front was never in danger of disappearing.

After our defeat at Rio Coco, we began to work in the suburbs, production centers, rural areas and the mountains, as well as to develop an alliance with other forces.

In 1967, we had to decide whether to participate in elections. The traditional left was inclined to participate in them; but we realized it was necessary to take the path of armed struggle. We were not sure that a new armed action would be successful, but the most important thing was to plant an idea that could bear fruit later on. The elections in 1967 were a disgusting farce whose only purpose was to give a legal appearance to the system. We did not want to play a role in such a game.

That decision was one of the most important taken by the Front. What happened after the elections?

Our people had two possibilities: elections or revolution. It was our duty to show them the revolutionary way, but we had doubts and hesitations.

By our side we always had a man who had faith in the revolutionary movement

and in the future of the revolution, who was guiding us with his firmness, who was giving us the example of his moral qualities. This man whose memory we worship and respect, Carlos Fonseca, fell in combat recently. Guided by him we came back to the mountains.

The orientation of the revolutionary struggle was defined in this situation. We did not have any other option than being revolutionaries or slaves, and we chose to be revolutionaries. Somoza was reelected once more and his regime seemed to be irremovable. An alliance of opposition forces was necessary to counter the traditional politicians' alliance. The Pacasan political victory provided a breathing spell for our forces and allowed us to build them up in secret—to create the Sandinista Organization in the mountains and rural areas.

But we also had to create "intermediary" organizations. We knew other unsuccessful revolutionary movements like the Tupamarcos had failed to establish a close link between their organization and the masses. For us, it was necessary to establish a link in the form of intermediary organs. These include legal organizations such as unions and suburbs committees. For us they are also a source of militants.

Could you explain the Front's political objectives?

It is and always has been an anti-imperialist revolutionary organization, which struggles for a substantial change of the obsolete existing structures.

But we are open to any revolutionary position. Our militants are Christians, Marxists; some of them have not defined their ideological position; some are just anti-Somoza. We believe that the Revolution is not only an emotion but a product of human intelligence and that the unique way to make a revolution is with a scientific methodology. We give special importance to our leaders' clarity because it's the revolution's guarantee. Having a very defined direction, in a revolutionary point of view, it's easier to reach agreements with other democratic forces, even non-revolutionary ones, and we are sure that our leaders won't become ideologically corrupted.

Going back to the Front's history, which dates were the most important ones?

After the Pacasan experience, our organization emphasized defining its strategy. The Front elaborated its political program, began to increase its contacts to the point where there is no place where we don't have a link or a committee. In Dec. 27, 1974, the Front broke its silence and occupied a villa where the U.S. ambassador and several Nicaraguan ministers and diplomats were meeting. They were taken off as hostages.

The commandos had a very good military training so we were sure the action was going to be successful. In Nicaragua there is a long tradition of heroism, so we were convinced they were going to fight to the death. And the enemy knows exactly that we do what we promise. When Somoza gave in, he said it was not to be taken as a precedent, but we knew he was going to repeat it as he proved it some days ago, on Aug. 22. We are sure he will not stay in power until 1981.

At the same time, we tried to consolidate the mountain guerrillas, our rear-guard. It was a guarantee of the revolutionary process in spite of moving to urban zones. We can face any situation, but we have to be aware of any possible response by the local bourgeoisie. We can't forget how important the mountains are as a reserve and a guarantee. So, after, 1974, armed struggle was intensified and reached its most important development these last months. It coincides with growing mass participation—in particular, workers and students—in such a proportion that our organization has support almost everywhere in Nicaragua.

It's a singular situation in Latin America. Neither the bourgeoisie nor the reactionary capitalists, landowners, dare to speak of us in negative terms. They fear the Front more than they respect it. Fear implies contradiction; today, in our country, one must face a reality, which is the Front.

Taking another crucial moment like these last weeks, we are very pleased that



Residents of Esteli, Nicaragua, flee from a National Guard attack Sept. 13.

people who talk so much, who offend our people so much, who tried to enjoy the privileges given by power, who smiled satisfied when we were in jail, were stricken silent. We are deeply human, we promised to save the hostages' lives and fulfilled it, but we received protests from everywhere, even from the nuns. One hostage is so hated that everybody complained when he was not executed.

Personally, what is your political position?

I am a Marxist, but not all the Front's militants are. There is an important per-

centage of Christians, which is not contradictory.

How would you outline Somoza's fall?

There are two types of answers: the revolutionary and the reactionary ones. We have been guided to make the revolution, but at the same time the reactionary forces have not remained silent. There are several possibilities. The enemy can give an auto-coup. It's possible without making any change in the National Guard, but any response of this kind would come too late because our people's faith in the Front is the guarantee of our success.

Is the Front a movement or a party?

It is a party and a pluralist one. It has a national direction which outlines the Front's strategy and politics, an internal direction, composed and divided in region committees and under region committees.

Does it have a secretary?

The first secretary was Carlos Fonseca. Since he fell in combat we did not name another; we are going to name one. Internal contradictions will be surpassed and then we'll do it.

Michelle Labrut is a free-lance journalist in Panama City.

LIFE IN SOMOZA'S PRISONS



Doris Tijerino with her son.

INSIDE THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

By Doris Tijerino, as told to Margaret Randall
New Star Books, Vancouver, 1978, \$5.25

Doris Maria Tijerino is a Nicaraguan woman, a longtime member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). On April 13, immediately after returning to Nicaragua from several years in Cuba, she was captured and imprisoned by Anastasio Somoza's National Guard. Last month, she was one of 59 political prisoners freed when the Sandinistas occupied the National Palace.

While Tijerino was in Cuba, she was interviewed at length by Margaret Randall, an American writer and poet. Randall constructed her life story from the interviews.

In June, and then again last month, Margaret Randall talked to me about Doris Tijerino's life.

What's the significance of Doris Tijerino's life?

Her life makes a very interesting history of the last 20 years in the life of her country because her life has paralleled it in a sense. At least, the struggle-life of the country.

She's one of 11 kids, born into the land-owning aristocracy of the country-

side—a landowning aristocracy that was reduced to poverty during the '50s because of the lowering of coffee prices on the world market. Her mother was quite a peculiar woman. Really a marvelous woman, who was one of 14 children from an English colonial family that had settled in Nicaragua.

Her mother seems to have rebelled against every kind of social convention. She was anti-religious, anti-landowners, anti-everything. She apparently tried to inculcate these qualities to Doris, although not to any such degree in her other ten children. Things like chaperoning her on dates when she was 12 or 13 years old, but the dates were really political meetings. Her father, who was a member of the National Guard, apparently eventually divorced her mother over her political activities.

Her mother died of cancer when Doris was just out of prison in '71. She had always been entirely supportive of her.

She went back clandestinely to Nicaragua and was captured. It was a battle in a small village about eight kilometers from the Honduras border. From what we've been able to reconstruct, there were three people walking down a country road near this little village in the early hours of the morning. One was the local guide, we think. He was killed. The National Guard shouted for them to stop. She shouted for them not to shoot but they started shooting.

Doris was taken prisoner, but the third comrade, who was walking a little behind them, was able to escape. That's how we know what we do.

It's very important for there to be some consciousness of this around the world. She's terribly hated by the Somoza regime. She was very badly tortured in '69—so badly that she's still physically under the effects of that torture.

In what way? Is she weak or...?

Well, it was very hard for her to have her second child, for example. She has a lot of gynecological problems. She was raped many times... She got a lot of medical attention, but even so...

Why did she decide to go back?

There was never any question about her not going back. She was involved in the struggle and came here for a particular reason and when it was time for her to go back she went back. She was just waiting for her daughter to get old enough to be put in the charge of the Cuban comrades.

Until last month she was in prison in Managua. She apparently was not tortured, which is very strange. Nicaragua is notorious for having very few political prisoners. They're usually tortured to death during the first few days. They are reported killed "in the battle" or trying to escape.

The main prison in Managua is the basement of Somoza's presidential palace. One of his sports or pastimes is to give state dinners and then take his guests down for a rape of the women prisoners. An afterdinner pastime. It happened to her several times during the '69 imprisonment.

But the problem for Somoza is that there is great international pressure on him. The U.S. isn't so interested in his image right now. They're trying to find someone to replace him. He's expendable. This works in her favor—and in favor of all the political prisoners.

It should be emphasized that she was one of many prisoners. In fact, it's the case of the whole Nicaraguan people. There's a full-scale war going on there.

—Janet Stevenson

Janet Stevenson visited Cuba earlier this year.

SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. and Iran oil keep South Africa from grinding halt

BY ROBERT MANNING

THE AMERICAN PRESS IGNORES IT, AND THE Carter administration rejects it, but the call for imposing an economic embargo against South Africa is growing louder and is fueled by a recent UN study that says if oil sanctions were imposed it could cripple the apartheid regime.

At a UN conference last month Third World nations again backed the longstanding African demand for an economic embargo against the Vorster regime. Predictably, the Western nations walked out of that conference when Third World countries passed a resolution against Israel for its burgeoning cooperation with South Africa, and American officials say that they would veto any oil embargo against Pretoria in the UN Security Council.

But, amidst increasing repression inside South Africa, a study by two British economists, Martin Bailey and Bernard Rivers—the first in more than 14 years—concludes that South Africa would not only be vulnerable to such sanctions but that it would be neither difficult nor expensive to carry them out.

So vulnerable is South Africa, in fact, that the authors conclude in their painstaking study that the South African economy would collapse within two years if a complete oil embargo were imposed.

Iran's critical role.

Oil is the one strategic resource that South Africa does not possess. A top South African official has admitted, "Dependence on imported fuel is one of South Africa's most vulnerable points." There has been very little detail about South Africa's oil industry as the Vorster government has extended its Official Secrets Act to cover most oil-related activities. But some meticulous research and investigation has unravelled the oil flow to and distribution within South Africa.

At first glance, South Africa might seem able to weather an oil embargo. Thanks mainly to enormous coal reserves and cheap black labor to mine it, South Africa depends on oil for only 20 percent of its energy needs. But the study points out that this is "an almost irreducible minimum."

Two-thirds of South Africa's oil is used in the strategic transport sector, and oil is vital to maintain the helicopters, armored cars, land-rovers and aircraft of Pretoria's rapidly growing military—both police and armed forces.

The UN report cites a 1973 incident to make its point. When a tanker carrying aviation fuel was delayed for several weeks in the Mideast, all privately-owned aircraft were grounded because of limited stocks. Thousands of these ostensibly private planes are voluntarily organized under the Air Commando system and are vital to counter-insurgency measures.

By conducting an analysis of all oil tanker movements from the Mideast to South Africa, the authors confirm that 90 percent of South Africa's oil comes from Iran, another repressive dictatorship. Since 1973, when OPEC nations tried to impose an oil embargo, Iran has replaced countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The UN report shows that the 1973 OPEC effort failed because the major multinational oil companies who control marketing and distribution did "some artful juggling," according to the South African *Financial Mail*, sending embargoed oil to safe destinations and diverting unembargoed oil, say for France or Britain, to South Africa. The report says that this was done without the knowledge of the oil-producing countries.

The UN report clearly shows that Iran's backing would be necessary right now if sanctions were to be successful. Although Iran's exports to South Africa are only 5 percent of its total oil exports, Iran has strongly rejected the idea of "politicizing" its oil, and the Shah's government even refused to see a special Organization of African Unity (OAU) committee investigating oil sanctions.

The bulk of the rest of South Africa's

oil comes from the Persian Gulf states of Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and Abu Dhabi, again via the major oil companies "without the knowledge of the oil-supplying countries," according to the report.

Tight control over oil.

Presently, South Africa produces only 1 percent of its oil from a state-owned oil-from-coal plant, Sasol I. Pretoria has ambitious plans for a more elaborate oil-from-coal plant, Sasol II, a \$4 billion project expected to be operating by 1982. But the UN study shows that Sasol II would cover only 70 percent of South Africa's expected increase in oil needs by 1982.

Another defiant claim against sanctions by the Vorster government is that the apartheid regime has a large oil stockpile—as much as two to three years worth—and could withstand such pressure. The UN report says that such boasts are hot air, and that at the end of 1975 the stockpile totalled "only six to seven months worth." Though Pretoria has accelerated stockpiling since then, the authors calculate that South Africa has "no more than 18 months supply." Oil is expensive to stockpile—three years worth would cost \$7 billion, which further suggests that South Africa is bluffing.

One of the most interesting things unveiled in the report is the role of foreign—especially American—oil companies in South Africa. Aside from the fact that one-third of the oil tankers delivering crude to South Africa are owned by the nine major companies, these firms own some 4,661 service stations in South Africa. Two American companies, Caltex (a joint enterprise of Standard of California and Texaco) and Mobil sell 38 percent of all refined oil products in South Africa. South African officials admit that the major oil companies are responsible for building oil into a multi-billion-dollar business in South Africa as well as providing access to technology and know-how.

The UN report documents the tight control over the oil industry by the South African government. The government must approve any new oil refineries or plans for expanding existing ones; oil companies are obliged to store designated amounts of oil products; foreign oil companies are required to sell a certain portion of their refined products to the government; and under South African law oil companies operating in the country are forbidden from imposing any conditions on the sale of oil products to their customers. This last point means that oil firms must meet orders for the military and police as well as sell oil to customers who might be involved in supplying Rhodesia. South Africa supplies all of Rhodesia's oil, breaking UN sanctions against Ian Smith, and Mobil is one of the key firms involved.

The UN report concludes that Western owned oil firms in South Africa "serve two masters, the overseas parent company and the South African government. When the policies of the two masters diverge, it would appear that the government dominates."

U.S. against sanctions.

The UN report argues that it would be easier to mount effective oil sanctions against South Africa than it has been

against Rhodesia, since South Africa does not have a friendly neighbor to break the sanctions. It cites three possible reasons to impose sanctions: if South Africa refuses to stop supplying Rhodesia with oil; if South Africa fails to cooperate on the proposed Namibia settlement; and as pressure to end apartheid at home.

The report suggests various methods by which an oil embargo could be implemented. It says that OPEC could refuse to sell oil to companies who furnish South Africa or could levy extra taxes on such companies.

More effective, the authors suggest, is a UN embargo. This would be done legally under Chapter VII of the UN charter, a section of which was invoked last year when an arms embargo was imposed. The report suggests a naval blockade could be set up. But the authors explain that such a blockade "is probably not necessary. Much simpler, but effective steps could be taken: the UN Security Council could require measures to be introduced so that any tanker that delivered oil to South Africa would be liable to seizure" after leaving the South African port.

The report says that South Africa could find no substitute for oil, and even with tight rationing could reduce consumption only 20 percent. But such rationing itself, the report says, "would have a serious effect on business confidence." The report also says that if all oil supplies were cut off, "the Republic would probably not be able to survive for more than two years." The authoritative *Financial Mail* wrote, "Even the threat of [oil] sanctions against South Africa has far-reaching consequences." The UN report explains that during the period when sanctions were applied, "there would be enormous economic and social disruption," and concludes, "Oil sanctions probably represent the most effective form of external pressure that could be exerted on South Africa."

But since on previous occasions when the question of sanctions against South Africa arose at the UN Security Council, the U.S., Britain and France have vetoed them, the big question is will the Western nations support such moves? A State Department official admitted to this correspondent that the Vorster regime has exercised tighter repressive measures, made only "minor and marginal changes," and shows "no willingness towards fundamental change." Nonetheless, several Carter administration officials told me that if it came to a vote now, the U.S. would veto sanctions. But in classic State Departmentese they say that the U.S. "has all kinds of options." In principle, sanctions are not to be ruled out, but the U.S. has set no timetable for change in South Africa or any concrete ideas about how far-reaching change should be.

So for the moment, it looks like business as usual, even though it is increasingly clear that pressure through sanctions is possible and that subtle "leverage" that Carter claims American businesses (some 350 corporations) in South Africa and American government exercise has yielded no signs of change.

Robert A. Manning is presently working for *Internews* in Berkeley, Calif.

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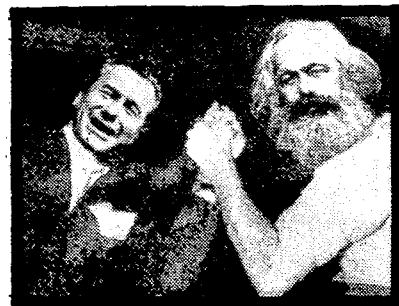
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A fist with a rose

in it. Socialists may well win in Spain's next elections. Young Felipe Gonzalez will then become prime minister.

IN 1962, WHEN AMERICANS WERE sitting in for civil rights and holding demonstrations against nuclear testing, in Seville the son of a livestock handler for a local oligarch joined the youth group of the clandestine Spanish Socialist Workers party. By the mid-'60s, he had become a labor lawyer and head of the southern section of the party, which had been revitalized to fight the Franco regime. He was arrested for political and syndical activity ten times before he was 30. In 1974, the party held a congress in the Paris suburb of Suresnes and elected "Isidoro" first secretary.

By June of last year, "Isidoro's" face was known all over Spain, and not any more by his party name. His picture was on the front pages of newspapers and magazines in his country and throughout Europe. The *Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol* (PSOE), which had been legalized only four months before, had won an astonishing 28.5 percent of the vote in the national elections, more than any other party, and everyone from right-wing politicians to analysts in the American embassy were predicting that 35-year-old Felipe Gonzalez, the PSOE's national leader, might well head the government in a handful of years.

The national office of the PSOE is in an unimpressive building in a nondescript part of Madrid that has neither the charm of the historic quarter nor the opulence of the new northern section to recommend it. A party banner is hung on the windows overlooking the street, but upstairs there is no name plate on the door.

I rang the bell, was asked to identify myself through an intercom and pushed the door when it buzzed open. A man in his sixties seated at the reception desk motioned me to a straight-backed chair. Other people came in to fill the small room. Some passed into offices; half a dozen stood about waiting. Most were young, in their thirties. I picked up a Socialist Youth magazine; it was a special issue on female sexuality.

The Socialist party has been forged by the '60s generation, and it is not just politics but social attitudes they seek to change. Many of the leaders spent exile years in France or elsewhere in Europe. They have been influenced by the move-

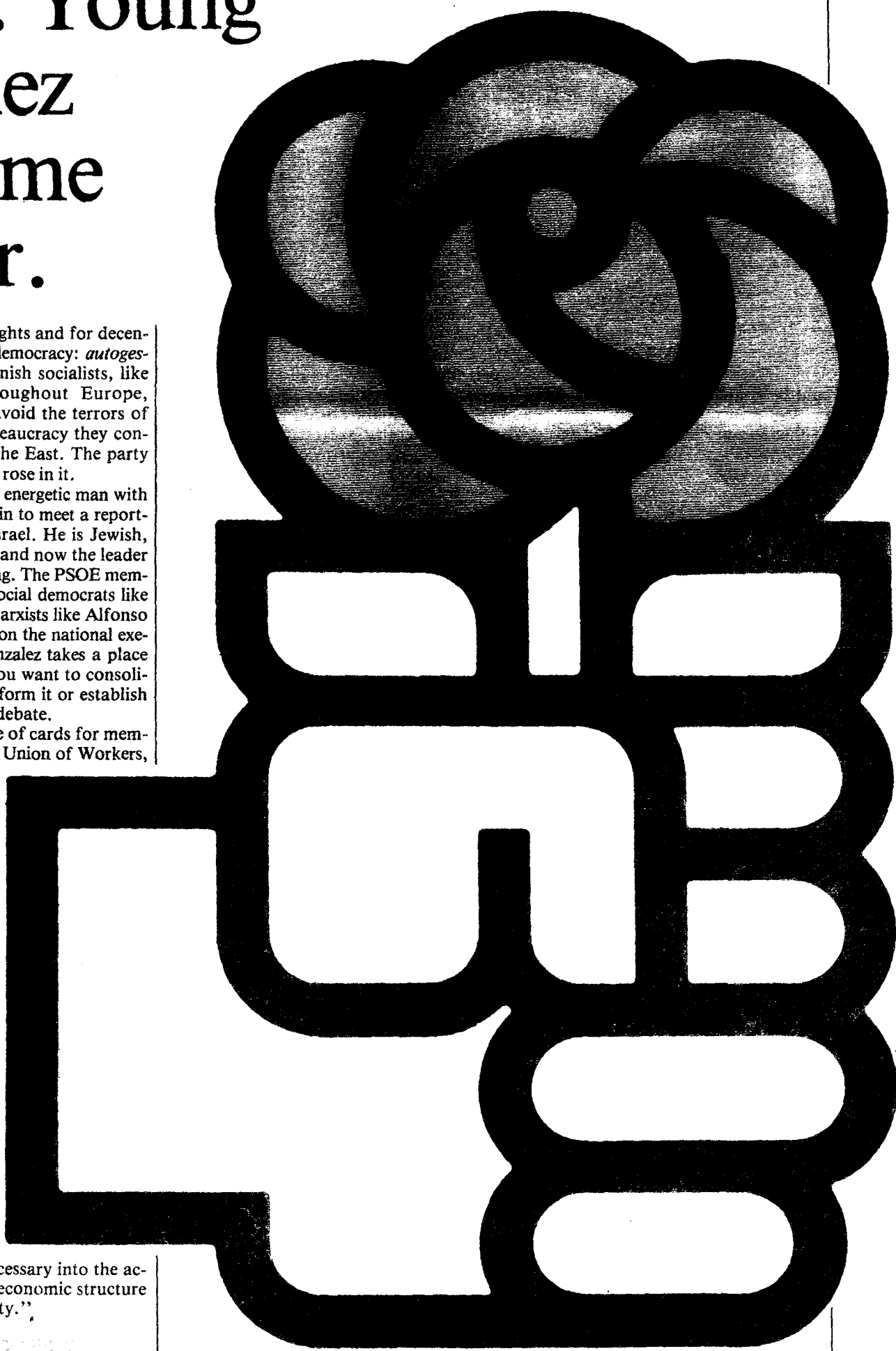
ments for women's rights and for decentralization and local democracy: *autogestion*, it is called. Spanish socialists, like their comrades throughout Europe, want desperately to avoid the terrors of the authoritarian bureaucracy they condemn in Russia and the East. The party symbol is a fist with a rose in it.

Enrique Mugica, an energetic man with curly black hair came in to meet a reporter doing a story on Israel. He is Jewish, a former Communist and now the leader of the party's right wing. The PSOE membership ranges from social democrats like Mugica to left-wing Marxists like Alfonso Guerra, and both are on the national executive committee. Gonzalez takes a place in the middle. "Do you want to consolidate capitalism and reform it or establish socialism?" goes the debate.

On the desk is a pile of cards for membership in the General Union of Workers, the UGT. Every PSOE adherent must belong. This is, after all, a Marxist party founded in the interests of the working class. At its first above-ground congress in Spain since the Civil War, December, 1976, the PSOE declared its objective to be "a society without the division of classes, the consequent extinction of the state, and the change of the government into an administration of that which will exist in a transitory stage of the construction of socialism." It warned, "Until that final objective is reached, decisive interventions will be necessary into the acquired rights and the economic structure of the bourgeois society."

The PSOE press secretary Helga Soto emerged from a narrow corridor. She was wearing jeans and a harried look. I would be taken to see Felipe Gonzalez, she said, but she apologized to the reporter for the

Continued next page.



AN INTERVIEW
BY LUCY KOMISAR

Continued from previous page.

Christian Science Monitor who had been standing next to me. The unlucky man had been waiting over a year for this interview, but Gonzalez had time for just one.

A party worker drove me to the other side of the city to an apartment house near the Prado Museum a few blocks from the Cortes, the Spanish parliament. Another unmarked door led to a handful of rooms that are used by the party's parliamentary leadership. At the end of the hall was a bare room with only a table and two chairs. Gonzalez sat there working on a speech he would give to the Cortes in the afternoon.

He put down a pen, got up to shake my hand and sat back as I took out a recorder. There was no small talk. His time is rationed jealously by aides. Still, he was extremely polite, cooperative and easy to talk to. He is also physically striking. His thick, dark hair falls in waves to set off a face that is movie-star handsome.

Two weeks before, I had seen Gonzales at a press conference held after a political bureau meeting of the Socialist International in Madrid. He shared the speakers table with Willy Brandt who is the International's president and head of the German Social Democratic party; Olaf Palme, the former Social Democratic prime minister of Sweden; and Robert Pontillon, a leader of the right wing of the French Socialist party. The Spanish Socialists fit easily into that ideological milieu. For the moment, they propose reform rather than revolution.

Right now, explained Gonzalez, "we want to democratize the economic system without leaving the framework of the market economy, but without accepting its mystification." That means giving workers control over certain sectors of the economy. "We don't intend to go to a program of nationalization as a philosophy of the party, nor do we want a statization of the economy," said Gonzalez.

The PSOE is close to the French on that question. It would take over public services, key sectors such as energy, steel and banking, set up a government pharmaceuticals industry to bring down prices and organize agricultural cooperatives. "The socialist society that we want will have to be self-managing," said the party's last congress resolution, "because nationalization and planning do not necessarily lead to socialism." In the final stage, there would be large state-run industries, enterprises run locally by workers and smaller-sized private concerns.

The Socialists want to use government credit and authority to direct investment and give workers a role in fixing the conditions of their work. "It has been a jungle, in some ways like a banana republic," said Gonzalez. "There were no controls over the multinationals. We accept investment in Spain that creates jobs as something positive, but we are going to control and direct it."

The Moncloa Pact.

At this time, however, Gonzalez deals with issues of a different sort. The ruling Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) was a minority party forged out of a coalition of Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and Liberals, including some ex-Franquistas. It got 34 percent of the vote, but apportionment favored the rural areas where it is strongest, and it ended up with 166 deputies in the Cortes.

The PSOE has 126 deputies, including eight members of the Popular Socialist party that split from the PSOE in 1972, ran a separate election campaign and returned this year. The Communists have 20, the rightist Popular Alliance 16 and the regional Basque and Catalan parties 21.

UCD Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez must play coalition politics. When I saw Gonzalez, he was negotiating over the rules of the new parliament, the draft national constitution and an emergency political and economic program.

Last year the economy was in a mess. Productivity was falling, money was emptying out of the stock exchange and fleeing the country, the 30 percent inflation rate was the highest in Europe, unemployment was at 10 percent, and some parts of Spain were near economic paralysis.

Nobody except the far right wanted to create the conditions for the army to "save" the country. Suarez, who had little choice, invited the leaders of the parliamentary parties to the Moncloa Palace on the outskirts of Madrid to work out a pact.

The PSOE traded support for holding the lid on wage increases to get major political and economic concessions. Suarez would take the blame if the agreement failed, but he would have to share the credit for its success.

"The first objective was to dismantle the residue of *franquismo* that continues encrusted in the public administration and the economic apparatus," Gonzalez explained. That meant taking parliamentary control over public spending, putting worker representatives on consumer and price commissions, extending unemployment insurance and establishing fiscal reforms to counter the dominance of the big banks.

In return, the PSOE agreed to hold

On one astonishing occasion, I saw Communist chief Santiago Carillo deliver a speech on elementary Marxism to 2,000 members of the Madrid establishment who filled the main ballroom and three meeting rooms set up with closed-circuit TV for the overflow in the luxurious Euro-building Hotel. They had come carrying white engraved cards to the invitation-only event. Carillo was introduced by the head of the far-right *Alianza Popular*, and people joked that it was the night of the Communist leader's coming out in society.

I spent a Sunday afternoon at a Madrid movie theater where some 600 local Socialist party members met to kick off a campaign to legalize contraception and abortion. Men and women in the audience applauded with fervor as speakers pledged to combat the oppression of women.

The church a stumbling block.

"The parties of the left are beginning to admit that they are 'machista,'" Gonzalez told me. "One must overcome that

tended to win next time and govern alone. The UCD man, Liberal Garrigues-Walker, a government minister, said his party was not looking for junior partners either. It was only the small groups that approved the idea.

The future of the left in Spain depends on whether or not the PSOE can get a majority or establish a coalition with regional nationalists and social democrats, or whether it must depend on coalitions with the Communists, as in France, or on the decisions of labor movements controlled by the Communists, as in Portugal.

The PSOE does not want to revive the popular front that won in 1936. Gonzalez does not accept Carillo's predictions about the end of the 1920 split when the Communists left socialist parties to form the Third International. "Maybe in the year 2500 or 3000 it will end," he said half seriously. "Indeed, the Communists in southern Europe are moving into the terrain of the Socialists, trying to win the credibility of the Socialists camp. We don't know where that will lead," Gonzalez said.

There is not an important programmatic divergence between Communists and Socialists in Spain. "Indeed, among the short-term programs, one could even call the PSOE a little more radical in the noble sense of the world," Gonzalez declared. "The fundamental differences are in the idea of society." He does not accept that the Communists are democrats. "They get offended when you say this to them," he said. One difference, he pointed out, is "Whether one believes in democracy not as a means to obtain a particular end, but as a means that is an end in itself." The PSOE is more committed to workers' self-management, here called "autogestion."

Union elections.

Gonzalez said he sees "no foreseeable or possible conditions" for a coalition between the PSOE and the Communists, then hedged: "It depends on whether or not the PSOE is established as an alternative of power in itself." Prime Minister Suarez is trying to walk a tight-rope between preventing the Socialists from becoming powerful enough to challenge him alone without pushing them into the arms of the Communists. The first crucial contest was the series of union elections that started in January.

During my visit I saw walls and subways plastered with posters urging workers to attend meetings of the Socialist General Union of Workers (UGT), the Communist Workers Commissions (CCOO), and smaller organizations of Christian socialists, Marxist-Leninists, autonomists and anarchists. Every worker in an enterprise of six or more had the right to vote for delegates. The stakes were who would organize the working class. The elections had "a political value of enormous consequence," declared Gonzalez. Both the Communists and the government, he said, looked to UGT losses to weaken the PSOE as an alternative of power.

Many leaders of the Workers Commission were well known as activists in the anti-Franco opposition. However, the UGT had the more popular Socialist label. The CCOO therefore wanted to run "open list" elections in which people would vote for individuals. The UGT wanted closed slates. The government set closed lists for enterprises of over 250, and in the end the result was too close to give dominance to either group: about 38 percent for the CCOO and 30 percent for the UGT.

The CCOO started from a stronger internal position, and it is unclear whether the UGT will pick up more support as it gets better organized. Much may depend on parallel political developments. The Communist party is likely to use its relatively greater influence in labor to bolster its weakness in the Cortes. The Communists, backed by a strong trade union movement, would organize worker discontent (as in Portugal) in the face of the kinds of wage curbs and austerity measures that a Socialist government might see as necessary.

Gonzalez said that workers will not carry the burden alone, and the Moncloa Pact called for expansion of social pro-



Felipe Gonzales does not want to share power with anyone, including Communists.

He doesn't believe that the Communists have really accepted democracy as an end in itself.

wage demands to 22 percent as long as prices did not rise above that level. "For the first time in many years, it will not be the workers who have to bear the burden alone," said Gonzalez. Half the increases would be in the form of \$600 or \$700 for all workers, rather than a straight percentage rise that would award the greatest benefits to the wealthy.

In a country where people pay less than 2 percent of their income in direct taxes and where corporations easily evade government levies, the pact promised to establish income and corporate taxes to pay for job creation, education, housing, health services and pensions. "We would enormously like to reach the achievements of the Swedes," declared Gonzales.

Enjoying new civil liberties.

The Moncloa Pact appears to be working. In April, the parties took six months stock of the results and in parliamentary debate confirmed their adherence to the agreement. Inflation is down to 12-15 percent, and the trade deficit has been cut by more than half since 1976.

The government is designing the first genuine income tax since the Spanish Republic. Franco had collected withholding taxes from workers' paychecks, but the middle class and wealthy avoided the burden. The new levy would maintain the level of taxes on workers but would take sums up to 39 percent from the rest of the population.

The Moncloa agreement also called for freedom of the press and association, the right to strike, secrecy of communications and the right to "intimacy." There are occasional lapses, but for the most part Spaniards are enjoying their new civil liberties with a passion. Newspapers, magazines and paperbacks overflow the bookshelves in a political smorgasbord. Wall posters invite people to union meetings, lectures and ecumenical leftist fiestas. I saw a movie, *Caudillo*, a documentary of the Civil War, that set the republican audience cheering and sighing. I passed a theater in Barcelona that was showing a play by Fernando Arrabal, author of such ferociously anti-Franco works as *And They Put Handcuffs on the Flowers*.

contradiction and take into account the importance of women in transforming society." His own wife, an English teacher, belongs to the Madrid Women's Liberation Front. The party won Prime Minister Suarez's agreement to legalize contraception and decriminalize adultery and both steps have been accomplished.

Abortion will be a more difficult matter. "It is one thing to change attitudes and another to change the power of the church," said Gonzalez. Still, he noted, "The church has a great capacity for sniffing out the future and producing the changes that allow it to survive." In the last years of Franco, some sectors of the church fought the dictatorship, and "the country is now more relativist, more modern and thus less religious in the dogmatic sense," he said.

The draft of the constitution approved by the more powerful Congress of Deputies (the other house is the Senate) says, "No religious confession will have state character," but notes that the government will "keep in mind the religious beliefs of Spanish society" and maintain relations with the Catholic church and other religious groups. The PSOE fought to end the Concordat with the church and establish a laical state.

Now, the issue is how much control over education the church will maintain. That is being debated by the Senate. The Socialists want to reduce the amount of subsidy to church education and pay the funds to support public schools.

Against front with Communists.

There may be sharp disagreements in Spanish society, but there is great willingness to meet face to face to talk them over. I attended a forum at the elegant Castellana Hotel where upwards of 1,000 people turned out to hear representatives of every parliamentary party debate the Communists' proposal for a government of "concentration," their version of the Italians' "historic compromise," which says the Communists (and everyone else) should be invited into the government.

Enrique Mugica was there to inform everyone that the PSOE was not interested in concentrations or coalitions. It in-



grams. However, the Portuguese Socialists, who must adhere to International Monetary Fund demands on the one side and face the opposition of Communist-led labor unions on the other, know how difficult such a high-wire balancing act can be.

Waiting for democracy

For all the Socialists look to the future, there are some ties to the past: they are resigned to accept. I was in the Plaza Mayor one night, that historic center of old Madrid with a green-bronze statue of King Don Felipe III. On the cobblestones not far away a dozen or more students were chanting a rhyme that challenged the King's heirs: "*Espana, manana, sera republicana*." Tomorrow Spain will be republican. That was, after all, what the Civil War was all about, wasn't it?

"I don't think the republican alternative is a very important question at the moment," declared Gonzalez. "At this historical time, the monarchy plays a role that reduces the tensions a republic would produce." Even the Communists have agreed to keeping the monarchy. However, the king's acts will have to be countersigned by the Prime Minister. He will name the Prime Minister subject to the approval of the president of the Congress of Deputies. The constitutional referendum is expected to be held in October. The next crucial context will be the municipal elections. Suarez has promised to hold them within three months after the constitution is approved. However, the major political decision seems to have been made: how to organize Spanish politics, around coalitions or in contests be-

tween two strong parties. "Naturally," said Gonzalez, "if the Socialist party was left in a situation of the French type, within four or five years we would carry out a French type of politics." The thought of a Socialist-Communist alliance scared the center, and in the beginning of this year, Suarez agreed with Gonzalez on a system of proportional representation that favors the larger parties—the UCD and the PSOE—and would cut the influence of the Communists and the far right.

A left-center coalition

Local government is still controlled by holdovers from the Franco regime, and the municipals will determine who runs Spain at the grassroots. That base will be the political engine that powers the parties' national campaigns. If the PSOE wins the municipals, Gonzalez said, it will prepare to take power in the national elections next year.

The combined vote for the left last year was 1.5 million more than for the center and right. The PSOE won in every major city, while the UCD took the rural votes. What are the variables that could shift enough ballots to make Felipe Gonzalez prime minister of Spain?

First, the PSOE will be much better organized for the municipal and general elections than in June of 1977. "We had to fight every day to get a place for a meeting or against the Franco apparatus that remained intact," said PSOE International Secretary Luis Yannes who won in rural Bajadoz. He cited "maneuvering" by local *caciques* and irregularities that included voting places without Socialist ballots.

Having already amalgamated the Popular Socialists, Gonzales is looking toward his right now in the hopes of putting together a left-center coalition. "The components would include the Basque Nationalist party, the Catalan Democrats and—if Suarez fails he will probably fail because his team falls to pieces—part of that team, the Social Democrats." (The UCD is also having troubles on its right, with adherents objecting to the government's cooperation with the PSOE, its stand on economic issues and its inability to stem terrorism.)

On the other side, the UCD has a nation-wide structure in the 51 provinces with governors, mayors and councilors named by the government, and money, press and functionaries in an official apparatus. The church also will throw its support to defenders of the ecclesiastical state and the ban on abortion. A few years are not enough to wipe out the influence of rural political chiefs or conservative attitudes. Finally, corporate powers of the kind that back Carrigues-Walker, a man with ties to the multinationals, are not anxious to install Marxists as heads of government.

There does not appear to be much concern about a *coup* by the right. *Alianza Popular* polled only 8 percent of the national vote, business leaders want a democratic Spain so they can join the Common Market, and Gonzalez maintained that the army can be modernized and reformed on the European model. One Socialist suggested that Spanish officers could be kept busy and amused on NATO

maneuvers, but the official PSOE position is to stay out of the Atlantic military alliance altogether.

There are some uncertainties. Now that the UCD is not simply a coalition but a unified party, how will the social democrats vote? Will the Workers Commissions' victories give the Communists a base for more electoral power?

The Communists have had trouble lately stirred by a best-selling autobiographical novel by ex-Communist Jorge Semprun who wrote the screenplays for *La Guerre Est Finie* and *Z*. He accuses party chief Carillo and others of involvement in Stalinist purges including the betrayal of a leading Communist to the Franco police. Anti-Carillo statements have been circulating in the party, and the Communist lawyers association dissolved after criticizing the party's unrepresentative character and lack of internal democracy in executive decisions.

The Spanish Socialists have a long memory of Communist history and also a sense of their own. A picture of PSOE founder Pablo Iglesias is framed on the office wall, and souvenir ashtrays commemorate the first party newspaper published in 1886. Next year is the Socialists' 100th anniversary. They'd like to celebrate with Felipe Gonzalez as prime minister.

Lucy Komisar is the author of books on welfare and feminism and has written on politics and social issues for many publications. She was in Spain for nearly a month to do research on this story and others for the *Washington Star* and *Newsday*. She recently became a reporter for *The (Bergen) Record in Hackensack, N.J.* She lives in New York City.

EDITORIAL

We would like to add our voice to the praises cascading upon President Carter for the Camp David agreements. We would like to join in the euphoria over a major breakthrough toward peace among the nations of the Middle East. We regret that we can do neither.

Short of some Providential design unknown to us, and as much as we wish it were otherwise, our reason cannot bring us to see how the agreements constitute a framework for peace in the Middle East. In the cold light of day, the actual terms of the agreements compel the conclusion that they are a framework for continuing the conflict, and for deeper U.S. involvement in that conflict.

The agreements provide neither for security and recognized boundaries for Israel and its neighboring states, nor for the just claims of the Palestinian people. In his address before the joint session of Congress Sept. 18, Carter said the agreements "resolve" all these issues. They don't.

A "peace" erected upon grave injustice—in this case the denial of Palestinian nationhood—is no less the seedbed of more national hatred, and more war, than the "Carthaginian peace" that followed World War I. France and the rest of the world got no enduring security from the Versailles "peace" framework. Israel will get no enduring security in relation to its Arab neighbors, and there will be no lasting peace for the Middle East or the world, from the Camp David agreements.

The accords accomplished two things. They codified the Egyptian and Israeli intent to enter a separate peace between themselves. They codified conditions for continuing conflict over the West Bank and Gaza (ignoring the Golan heights altogether). But that is far from accomplishing a framework for comprehensive peace. And without this, the separate Egyptian-Israeli arrangements may yield up a *treaty* but not a durable peace between even them.

The Camp David agreements accomplished one other thing: A step in implementing the U.S. government's purpose of containing revolution in the Middle

Camp David accords: Framework for strife

The agreements are a plan for colonial rule, not for Palestinian self-government.

East through an alignment of conservative states tied economically, strategically and diplomatically to the U.S.: a latter-day revival of the old Baghdad Pact. But this step forward may well be quickly followed by more than two backward. The backpedaling has already begun, before the letters auxiliary to the agreements can be exchanged, no less written.

The preface to the accord known as the Middle East Framework designates UN Security Council Resolution 242 (Nov. 22, 1967) as the "basis for a peaceful settlement." But, although the Peace Treaty Framework provides for the freedom of navigation through the area's international waterways (as stipulated in 242), the terms of the Middle East Framework do not provide for Israeli military withdrawal from the occupied areas in the West Bank and Gaza. And Begin has emphasized this in speeches and statements since he left Camp David.

The preface calls for "secure and recognized boundaries" but in leaving sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza undefined, the terms of the accord provide for no such boundaries. The preface states that "for peace to endure, it must involve all those who have been most deeply affected by the conflict." But the terms exclude the PLO, one of the parties "most deeply affected," from a negotiating role, as well as in effect from whatever elections may take place.

The terms of the Middle East Framework provide for Palestinian self-government in words but not in substance. They

limit participation in elections exclusively to present "inhabitants" of the West Bank and Gaza. But over two-thirds of the 3.5 million Palestinians live outside those two areas. The terms provide for "free elections." But those elections will take place in Gaza and the West Bank with the present Israeli military governments in place. Not the Palestinians, but Israel and Egypt (and Jordan if King Hussein accepts the invitation), will define and enforce the election rules and the powers of the elected governments.

That is not a plan for free elections or for genuine self-government. Indeed, the terms state that the "security concerns of the parties" will be balanced against "the principle of self-government." That means the exclusion of the PLO from the "self-governing" process, as Israel's, Jordan's and Egypt's "security concerns" dictate keeping the PLO out of power in the West Bank and Gaza.

There is no time limit for completion of establishment of the election process—only after which the Israeli military government would be withdrawn and the five-year transitional period would begin. The "five years" could stretch out indefinitely. Should the transitional period get underway, real power in the West Bank and Gaza will reside not with the inhabitants' elected governments, but with a military-police-political commission composed of Egyptians, Israelis, Jordanians and delegates from the elected governments.

This commission will decide upon re-

admission of displaced persons. It will also have plenary powers: "to prevent disruption and disorder," and to deal with all "other matters of common concern"—that is, anything and everything.

Whatever decision is arrived at after the five years by Egypt, Israel, and Jordan, as to the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, will not be submitted to the vote of the "inhabitants," but to the vote of the elected government officials—who themselves will not have been freely elected.

This is a plan for a conflict-ridden tripartite colonial dominion (with close U.S. involvement), not for Palestinian self-government.

As pointed out elsewhere in these pages (see Yoav Peled's story, page 3), the Camp David agreements will tend to intensify conflict by offering the PLO no route to peaceful diplomacy, but on the contrary forcing it into armed struggle as its *only* resort. And the agreements weaken Israeli security, not only by leaving boundaries undefined, but also by opening the way to Egyptian and Jordanian armed forces in the Sinai, Gaza, and the West Bank. It would appear that Begin's Greater Israel objective takes precedence over security considerations *per se*.

The Camp David agreements are not the guarantee of peace they were hoped to be. But neither do their defects need to be accepted fatalistically as the inevitable augury of more war. The strong desire of Israelis and Arabs for peace, like that elsewhere in the world, leaves an opening for people, if not their governments, to move diplomacy toward a genuine Middle East settlement based upon mutual recognition and friendship between a Palestinian state and Israel.

That would make it possible for Arabs and Israelis alike to put behind them national animosities and turn to the work of securing to themselves and their posterity just and democratic societies.

It would also make "this area...a model for coexistence and cooperation among nations," the objective declared but not honored by the Camp David agreements.



LETTERS

INTO A BROTHEL?

WILLIAM DOMHOFF'S VIEWS (ITT, Sept. 6) are, as usual, very logical and well expressed. It is true that American leftists have been on the fringes of political reality in the U.S. for too long. It is also true that it is time for a complete overhaul of our doctrine and praxis. But Domhoff is, shall we say, off base?

First of all, gaining "a small toehold in the system" will accomplish nothing if we are part of that system. Mixing a shot of whiskey with a gallon of water makes for bad water and terrible whiskey. Secondly, the influence that a sprinkling of leftist politicians can have in the law-making process is nil; we can't even get the ERA passed, for crissakes and that's simple compared with issues like public ownership and administration of banking and finance, basic industries and services, etc. Finally, as I have said before, the establishment will not allow anyone, no matter how right they are or how popular with the electorate, to threaten its hegemony, let alone take away its privileges based solely on power and ownership, not the popular will. The answer, although political, is not electoral but revolutionary.

But I am not anti-Domhoff and I would like to see the issues that he raises brought out of the political fringes and into the mainstream of American politics; after all, the label "socialist" aside, our ideas are not that far from those of the people I meet every day at work, the problem is that no one mentions them at the national level. What is needed right now, in time for the 1980 elections, is a broad strategy, a syncretist movement, if you will, comprising all elements of the American left with its own socialist platform; an independent coalition that makes no deals and lets the people know it makes no deals. It is indeed time to come out of the closet, but not into a brothel!

—Paul Tarsus
Washington, D.C.

GOOD SENSE

BILL DOMHOFF'S PROPOSALS (ITT, Sept. 6) for a strategy of working within the Democratic Party make good sense; with some addition and amendment, they deserve the wholehearted acceptance by the democratic left.

Domhoff correctly warns that efforts to build a third party would be an exercise in futility, but his strategy could not succeed without a separate and distinct political movement, with a program and a constituency of its own, and not limited to working only within the Democratic Party.

Such a movement would base its "coherent social theory" on redefined patriotic, radical-populist and democratic concepts that would bind together all the many single-issue movements, and offer alienated Americans a rationale for transforming society that would be much broader than either the socialist or economic democracy rationales.

Without such a mass, popular political movement whose constituency is involved day-to-day in electoral campaigns, electoral victories alone could not consolidate any permanent gains for the left. The recent defeat of Fraser is a case in point.

—John Rossen
Chicago

TOO IDEALISTIC!

IN READING THE INTERVIEW WITH I.G. William Domhoff by Derek Shearer (ITT, Sept. 6), I was impressed by his pragmatic idealism up to the point where he suggests that in 1980 key prim-

aries should serve as a referendum "on the public ownership and control of the top thousand corporations." Aside from the sheer fantasy of such a notion in this time, its desirability is less than doubtful.

In this country, nationalization of major corporations on a blanket basis is only an idea which symbolizes hopelessness and distracts and dilutes endeavors that are within visibility. Nationalization of corporations or industries is something that should, and, in this country, probably must be considered on a selective basis. We are not just talking about abstractions, but about complex industries, technical and economic efficiency, and human welfare. A publicly owned industry certainly has the potential to botch the job as badly as a privately owned industry. Nationalization is not the cure-all and end-all of our society's ills and aspirations, and I do not believe it should be the work-horse of socialist thinking in this country.

Defective as it is, our economic system does provide an incentive for performance which we do not want to destroy—only to harness. This could be done with much more conventional means in most cases. A redistribution of benefits does not necessarily entail nationalization, and an American left should focus on personal benefits, not centralized ownership and the bureaucratic explosion that would follow.

Berry Ives
Albuquerque, N.M.

GOOD WORK

I JUST WANTED TO TAKE THIS CHANCE to tell you how much I enjoy ITT—it's clear, non-rhetorical, beautifully laid out, and talks about things I want to understand. I like your reviews of popular culture, and the generally easy-to-read style. I give most of my friends ITT subs as gifts!

Keep up the good work!

—Rochelle Lefkowitz
Somerville, Mass.

PHOTO LEAGUE

I WELL REMEMBER THE EARLY DAYS of the Photo League and was, in general, pleased with your review of the League's show (ITT, Aug. 30).

The purpose of our programmed exhibits was often to show how people really live. For that reason, I was jarred by the one strongly false note introduced toward the end of the generally favorable review. The readers of ITT and the reviewer should know that members of the Photo League were not "camera-laden tourists." They were usually people of the neighborhood and of the same class.

The photograph in the review showing the family doing take-home work was certainly not an intrusion, but an interpretation and a demonstration from real life. The terms "elitist and paternalistic are themselves that. They were not the attitudes of the people who made the photographs.

This is an important show. I am happy that you mentioned it is available to other communities.

—M.H. Baker
Minneapolis, Minn.

INEXCUSABLE?

I AM OFTEN ANGERED BY YOUR CULTURAL reviews, those of music especially. The underlying premise in most of the articles is that art is something separate from, and unrelated to political or economic life. The provocative issue of commercial art's impact on society, and society's on it, has been largely ignored by this paper. Instead, movies and albums are reviewed often with no trace of socialist perspective, reviewed as if art were somehow created in a vacuum.

Your recent review of the Rolling Stones' new album is an ugly example of this. The Stones may well turn out some hot tunes, but in view of the violently sexist and racist tone of their music, a positive review (admittedly with a token reference to sexism) in a newspaper concerned with forging the way to a better world is inexcusable. To avoid discussing the vast power of the rock industry in general, and the Rolling Stones in particular, is to waste precious time and space in this valuable newspaper.

—N. Bailes
Springfield, Vt.

THE REVISIONISTS' REVISIONIST

ITT IS TO BE COMMENDED FOR ITS recent leadership in encouraging a process of thorough-going self-criticism among American leftists. We have been advised to recant our past errors of hostility to the sacraments of religion (ITT, Aug. 2), and of monogamous, heterosexual, nuclear family bliss (Michael Lerner's "Sanctify the Family," ITT, Aug. 30).

In this spirit, we suggest that ITT aim its next journalistic darts at a final sacred pink cow—socialist antagonism to private ownership of the means of production. Perhaps in those heady, idealistic days of our infantile leftism we were also wrong to attack capitalism—a mode of production so clearly favored by the overwhelming majority of the American people. We, of course, would promote a humane, non-authoritarian, non-sexist, non-racist, egalitarian variety of capitalism.

What do you think? We look forward to mature, comradely dialog on this issue.

—Judy Stacey, Herb Schrier,
Kay Trimberger
Berkeley, Calif.

IRRESISTABLE

YOUR PAPER IS REALLY EXCELLENT—low on rhetoric and high on news coverage. I like both the depth and breadth of coverage. I had no intention of subscribing to a paper, but you got me interested, and I can't resist!

Keep up the good work and I'll try to spread the word for you in Philadelphia.

—Vincent Deming
Philadelphia

NICARAGUA & VIETNAM

DURING THE MANY HEIGHTS OF THE Vietnam war protest demonstrations and Impeach Nixon meetings, I asked numbers of participants if they had ever heard of our war with Nicaragua during 1926-1934. Because of my recollections of this, I could see the similarities with Vietnam which inspired the question. Not a one that I asked answered in the affirmative, showing how that war was successfully effaced.

What is happening now in Nicaragua is a repeat of the rebellion of 1926-1934, but with more widespread support for the Sandinistas. Conventional news of the current events in Nicaragua does not mention that the long Somoza regime is a U.S.-imposed dictatorship by our eight-year intervention of the time, establishing the 42-year Somoza dynastic dictatorship.

The U.S. State Department and propagandists will be hard-pressed for an excuse of a similar nature, as it will be difficult to use the outworn resorts of communist red scares and domino theories of the Korean and Vietnam genre.

Lacking an available communist excuse, will the U.S. again brazenly intervene by military force and seize upon the claim of Cuban intervention as in Angola and other African countries and invade Nicaragua on the grounds of violation of the Monroe Doctrine, to establish a replacement dictator for U.S. domination and private business interests?

—George A. Beyer
Minneapolis, Minn.

JUST ANOTHER POLITICIAN

A COMMENT ON YOUR REPORTING of the recent Cleveland recall election (ITT, Aug. 23). I have just moved after living in Cleveland for seven years. It seems, in my opinion, that Kucinich fooled your reporter as much as he's been fooling the [few] voters that show up at the polls and elect him to office.

He talks like a "progressive populist" (as you call him and, yes, he spouts some dandy quotes in support of that image), but his actual use of his office is carrying on the tradition of nepotism and inadequacy that has plagued Cleveland for many years. Kucinich has stacked the high posts around him in city government with his personal friends and supporters, often tragically unqualified for their jobs; his administration is generally known for the arrogant, abusive way they deal with people in everyday transactions, hardly the example I would expect from someone who claims he's "standing up for the common people." He embarrasses more people than he brings credit to.

It's not that Kucinich is much worse than most political leaders in this country. He is the same type of demagogical, cronying politician we've seen over and over again. The sad thing to me is that his pose as a "progressive populist" fools so many people, and even you, whom I respect and enjoy so much.

—Andy Lichtenberg
Amherst, Mass.

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double-space letter, or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



"Big deal! Can happiness yield 12 percent a year for 14 years with a net capital appreciation of 32 percent at maturity?"

STAUGHTON LYND

LABOR & THE LAW

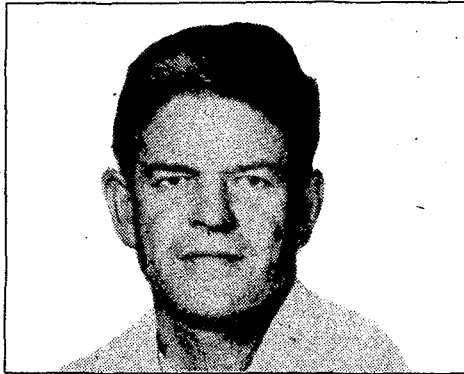
The right to know if your job causes cancer

An HEW report indicates that at least one in five cancer cases in the U.S. is a result of the workplace environment. Safety and health activists are trying to make exposure records available.

IN THESE DAYS OF SUNSHINE

Laws and Freedom of Information Acts, workers still struggle for the right to know what is in the company's files on them. This right is especially important with regard to medical records. On Sept. 11 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare released a report indicating that a minimum of one in five cancer cases in America is apparently contracted at work. Occupational diseases with a long latency period may be possible to prevent if a worker has access to company data showing the degree to which he or she has been exposed to toxic substances.

The Philadelphia Area Project on Oc-



cupational Safety and Health (Philaposh) has been coordinating a national Right-to-Know campaign. Philaposh's objective has been an OSHA regulation requiring companies to provide access to medical records. The campaign has also involved attempts to use the grievance procedure,

and the National Labor Relations Board, to achieve the same objective.

Workers at Lee Tire in Conshohocken, Pa., demanded to know the generic names of chemicals with which they must work. The company replaces the labels on chemical drums with classified company codes. Lee workers demanded the "key" to the codes.

Failing to win a contract clause in negotiations, the union filed a grievance. At arbitration the union attorney argued that without the chemical names, the safety committee could not do its job, and that the recognition clause in the contract gave the union a right to the knowledge it needed in order to do an effective job of representation. The company lawyer invoked "possible damages claims" and "trade secrets." The arbitrator ruled against the union.

An Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local at Consolidated Printing Ink Company in Minneapolis had better luck by making the same argument before the NLRB. The union filed a charge under Section 8(a)(5) of the National Labor Relations Act, which requires an employer to bargain in good faith. The charge alleged that without access to the generic names of chemicals used in the plant, the union could not carry out its bargaining responsibilities.

There is solid NLRB precedent requiring an employer to provide financial data necessary for effective bargaining. After seeking advice from the NLRB General Counsel in Washington, the Regional Director extended this precedent to cover the provision of the generic names of chemicals. The company thereupon agreed to provide the information.

In July of this year, after enlisting many union bodies as well as certain members of Congress, Philaposh obtained from OSHA the proposed regulation it desired concerning access to medical records.

The proposed regulation was issued on July 21 and will be found in the Federal Register at 29 CFR Part 1910 (translation: volume 29 of the Code of Federal

Regulations, part 1910). Copies can be obtained from Publications Office, OSHA, Room N-3423, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Third Street and Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20210 (202-523-8677). Comments must be submitted by Sept. 22. It is hoped that a final text will be officially promulgated soon afterwards. The proposed regulation applies not only to medical records but to "employee exposure records," whether these are individual exposure records or statistical studies. "Medical records" are defined to include (a) the results of medical examinations and texts, (b) any opinions or recommendations concerning the health of one or more employees by any health professionals, (c) any employee medical complaints.

Under the proposed regulation, management must maintain exposure and medical records for five years after an individual leaves its employment. Philaposh would prefer a longer period corresponding to the actual latency period of occupational diseases.

The employer is obliged to make records available for inspection and copying on request. Any designated representative may make the request. The cost of the copying must seemingly be borne by the employee, another point that could be improved.

Finally, the employer is obligated to inform the employee at least annually of the right created by the proposed regulation.

The Philaposh campaign for this regulation is in cooperation with other "cosh" groups in Chicago, Massachusetts and elsewhere. Petitions in support of the campaign are available from all such groups. The Philaposh address is Room 607, 1321 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107.

Knowledge, unfortunately, is not always power. But it helps.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. Readers interested in corresponding with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Ct., Niles, OH 44446.

DIALOG

Family and fertility: a reply to Blumenthal

FROM A CASUAL READING OF SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL'S "A Baby Boom in the '80s?" (ITT, Aug. 30), one might think that a repeat of the baby boom of the '50s—and much of the accompanying familistic culture—is a foregone conclusion. Whether or not the *Me* decade is followed by the *We* decade will depend on many things, but a rise in the birth rate, if it occurs, will play a relatively minor role in influencing the political economy and the family culture of the 1980s.

A closer look at the Baby Boom of the 1950s provides a useful perspective for viewing current prospective levels of fertility. Between 1945 and 1957 the crude birth rate increased from 20.4 to 25.3—an increase of 24 percent. The birth rate now stands at 15.2, only slightly above the all-time low of 14.8 reached in 1976. Even if the birth rate does increase by 25 percent in the next decade, it will still be far below the peak of the 1950s.

The Baby Boom of the 1950s resulted from a combination of births delayed from the Depression and War years and higher rates of marriage and childbearing which occurred at younger ages. But perhaps the most important change was the increase in the size of completed families from an average of 2.3 children for women born in the first decade of this century to 3.2 children to women born in

the early 1930s. If by "Baby Boom" one means something on the magnitude of the boom of the '50s, there are few demographers who would agree.

Furthermore, this level of fertility was facilitated by an unusually favorable labor market for young adult males. In 1950 less than a fifth of married women with children under 18 were employed outside the home. As Blumenthal correctly reminds us, the Baby Boom was also accompanied by an idealization of the isolated nuclear family with a full-time housewife and mother; but whether this cultural climate was a "cause" or an "effect" of high fertility is not clear.

For several years now demographers have been expecting an "echo" from the high fertility of the 1950s as these Baby Boom babies reach the usual childbearing years. While we may see something

of this "echo fertility" in coming years, there is little reason to expect that it will be anything like the fertility of the 1950s.

Perhaps the major reason for this is that parenthood is no longer an automatically assumed role for young men and women. This is reflected in several recent trends—most significantly changing marital patterns. In 1960 only 28 percent of American women 20-24 had never married; by 1974 this had increased to 40 percent. The divorce rate has also doubled since the 1950s, though most young adults who divorce remarry.

Another widely recognized trend is the increase in the rate of labor force participation for young women, especially married women. Today almost half of all married women with children under 18 are employed—an increase of 150 percent since 1950. The increase for mothers with children younger than six (husbands present) has been even more dramatic—from 19 percent in 1960 to 37 percent in 1976! These changes reflect an increase in women's interest in employment and a growth in the demand for "female labor." But perhaps the most significant fact is that few families can achieve an adequate standard of living from the husband's income alone. Today the new right is trying to idealize mothers staying home and raising children, but this pattern characterizes a shrinking minority of women and there is not much reason to expect a substantial reversal of this trend.

This does not mean that nonparenthood is the wave of the future. Even though an increasing proportion of young adults are choosing not to marry or have children, it is most likely that they will continue to be a relatively small minority. But if most Baby-Boom babies marry and have children, what type of families will they have?

The young families of the 1980s will probably differ markedly from those of the 1950s. First, they will have fewer children. Even if those approaching 30 who postponed childbearing in the 1970s try to make up for lost time, most will probably have only one or two children. Re-

cent surveys of young wives show that, on the average, they expect only two children. The greater availability of effective contraception and abortion means that there will be fewer unplanned births than in the past. (National fertility studies show that many of the third and higher order births of the 1950s were "unwanted.")

Whether by choice or economic necessity, far more women of childbearing age will be employed outside the home than was the case in the 1950s. In the long run society at large and fathers in particular may come to share more of the burdens of childrearing, but it is most likely that in the 1980s most women will resolve the contradictions between their maternal and other roles by having fewer children than their mothers did in the 1950s.

A major change in family culture by no means necessarily follows from a change in fertility. To think that it does is mechanical materialism at its worst.

It is more useful to view American family culture as the outcome of complex political-economic forces. Perhaps the most relevant characteristic of the 1980s will be the difficulty people will have in finding jobs that provide meaningful work and a living wage. In an attempt to maintain or improve their standard of living many workers may subordinate family obligations (especially childbearing and rearing) to the struggle to maintain their own standard of living.

In the 1970s many young adults, especially those with college educations, felt that the rewards of domesticity and child-rearing could not compete with those of work and politics. The difficulty of finding meaningful, well-paid work may lead some to reevaluate the tradeoffs between family and career. But our altered consciousness regarding sex roles plus the economic constraints of a stagnating economy will mean that the families (and birth rates) of the 1980s will differ from both those of the 1970s and the 1950s.

—Reid T. Reynolds

Reid T. Reynolds is a sociologist studying the effects of changing sex roles on fertility.

PERSPECTIVES

Participatory socialism or welfare statism?

Which direction will the Conference on Alternative Policies take?

AS I LEFT AN EARLY PLENARY SESSION AT THE NATIONAL Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies I ran into Tom O'Connell, chairman of the Farmer Labor Association, an anti-corporate populist political organization in Minnesota. I quipped, "My God, it's 1915 and we are surrounded by progressives!" His retort was, "It seems more like the youth wing of the ADA than a matured New Left." ¶These light-hearted attempts at gallows humor had a certain prophetic quality as the Alternatives Conference proceeded. This shift toward liberalism was not the only perspective, just the most visible. Masked behind the practical and conciliatory tone of the assembly, proponents of two contending political approaches grappled over the meaning of contemporary history and the appropriate vision for America's future.

During the course of the conference a diversity of individuals and organizations decided to house their theories of liberal reformism, bureaucratic politics, social democracy and neo New Dealism in a collective storefront called "progressivism." The progressives were in full retreat, ready to concede corporate dominance, willing to compromise to salvage the welfare state, and lacking faith in the democratic potential of the people.

The other major faction at the Alternatives Conference, the anti-corporate populists, were more aggressive and optimistic; they saw opportunities for an attack on corporate capitalism by a democratic and cooperative political movement, a chance to create a socialist commonwealth through new majoritarian programs.

As the 1970s proved a failure of prophecy, some of my generation have taken the initial steps on the journey travelled by disillusioned ex-radicals of the 1890s and 1930s who became accommodating progressives and cold war corporate liberals. Others among us have renewed our faith and rekindled our dream. We will explore another fork in the road.

While analyzing Proposition 13, a hint of arrogance began to surface as the progressives set themselves up as a noble minority, pitted against the vast majority. This defensive and self-righteous posture betrayed the self-interest of young professionals with rising salaries and status.

This elitist analysis misinterprets the already confused response of the average American to double-digit inflation, "disgraceful" taxation, and increasing alienation. Assessing the tax revolt as anti-black, anti-poor, and anti-public employee, the progressives were blaming middle-income homeowners for the fate of the dispossessed, and compounding the insult by attributing social meanness and diabolical motives to the besieged working and middle-income people.

The sympathy expressed for the underclass and their keepers was tainted with paternalism, a naive denial that the welfare state cure may be spreading the epidemic of powerlessness. Even when progressives hazily see that the welfare state causes dependency among clients and their professional saviors, they fail to understand their own addictive relationship to the state, as they continue to expect federal intervention, *deus ex machina*, to create socialism.

The difficulties I have pointed out are not limited to the self-styled "progressives" at the Alternatives Conference. They were only a reflection of the void in contemporary leftist political thought. An older generation of liberals and social democrats are beginning to fill this theoretical vacuum. This is due not to the superiority of their ideas, but rather to the slow plodding development of an indigenous alternative to either Leninist or liberal-social democratic concepts of socialism. These thinkers, most of whom are still theorizing about the 1932-48 era, are mentors-by-default for many ex-new leftists who are drifting toward centerist policies.

All too many of these liberals and social democrats spend more time ponder-

ing if Douglas Fraser or Bill Winpisinger will push George Meany to the left, than they invest in grassroots organizing. By grassroots organizing I do not mean flying out to give 12 speeches and nine workshops, in eight states in ten days. Even if George Meany declared for socialism and *Dissent's* three favorite "structural reforms" were passed by Congress, we would be a long way from a genuine socialism. By socialism I mean what William Appleman Williams called "an ethical and equitable community," and what Gar Alperovitz labelled "a pluralist commonwealth."

Pushed by the insurgency of the new right, this rush to create lowest-common-denominator, interest-group coalitions and alliances is indicative of the bankruptcy of the social democratic model. This paradigm of politics has more in common with James Madison, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill than it does with participatory socialism. The days of a single white male calling up six other white males (and maybe a token woman and black) and creating a national coalition are over—or the left is.

Yes, there are important national issues in need of federal solutions. But to pretend that interest-group coalitions lobbying Congress is anything but a rear-guard and defensive strategy, means that our political thought is in sorry shape. A political movement is greater than the sum of its parts; an interest-group coalition is less than the sum of its parts.

The progressives and liberal-social democrats imagine that our time is past. They see the decade after 1900 and the 1950s as similar to our own. If they are right, McGovern's failure is comparable to the defeats of William Jennings Bryan in 1896 and Henry Wallace in 1948. With this historical perspective, they are in retreat, becoming elitist, and in a mood to concede to, and compromise with the center to diminish the new right.

I think the progressives and liberal-social democrats are wrong; we are in a time analogous to the 1880s. Just as the economy and society of the laissez-faire epoch were disintegrating then, so the

corporate epoch of political capitalism is coming apart today. The corporate elite which owns and manages our society realizes the significance of this break in the continuity of their dominance. They are busy retooling the political economy to insure corporate dominance for the next 75 to 100 years.

But there is an opening for a populist democratic challenge to the corporate owners and managers of America for the first time since the late 19th century. The anti-corporate populists argue that the future can be ours. The radical vision of "an ethical and equitable community" and "a cooperative commonwealth" must be translated into a majoritarian program that speaks to the genuine concerns of Americans about the rising costs of living, unfair taxation, erosion of civil and human rights, the lack of meaningful participation, and the destruction of neighborhoods and rural communities. But this program will become a new American reality in the 1980-90s only through a broadly-based political movement that is cooperative, decentralized, participatory, and democratic.

I concur with Irving Howe's assessment of the new right and the leftist task: "A formidable antagonist requires a sharpening of thought, a gathering of strength. There is a big political fight ahead." But Howe is dead wrong if he thinks that a liberal-social democratic leadership can provide either the thought or strength for the most significant domestic struggle of the 20th century.

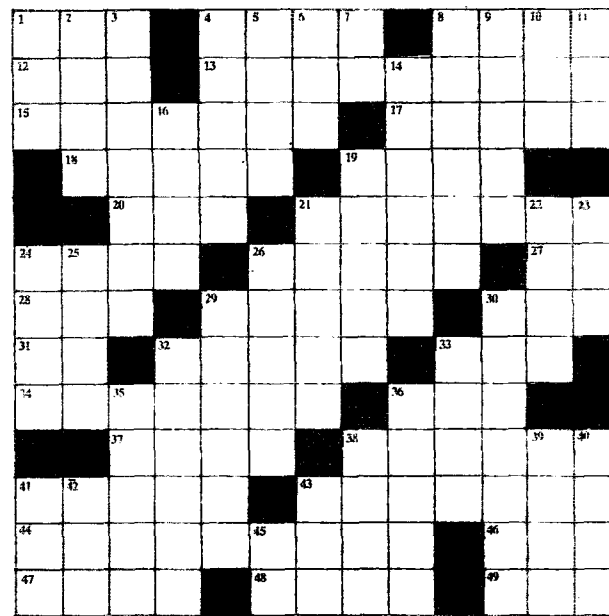
Although I disagree with their analysis, I affirm the need for socialists to make alliances with progressives and liberal-social democrats. When participating in these alliances we must maintain our anti-corporate stance, and our critique of the federal government and the welfare state: *socialists must be leaders on the left, not followers.*

—Monte Bute

Monte Bute is active with the Farmer Labor Association (F.L.A.). He works as an organizer with the Minnesota Area Committee on Occupational Safety and Health (MACOSH), Minneapolis.

Crossword

By Jay Shepherd



ACROSS

- 1 Volatile drug
- 4 Tailless amphibian
- 8 Mountain pass
- 12 Actor's curriculum vitae
- 13 Estimate too low
- 15 Spanish units of weight
- 17 Uncanny
- 18 Devices for heating beverages
- 19 Girl's name (short form)
- 20 Building wing
- 21 Change
- 24 Skeletal
- 26 He wrote "Ode on a Grecian Urn"
- 27 Queen and Embrass (abbr.)
- 28 Operculum
- 29 Where Mount Ida is
- 30 Lincoln's party, once
- 31 Has being
- 32 Solo
- 33 Chess pieces
- 34 Word loved by Women's lib (pl.)
- 36 "Hell ____ no fury..."
- 37 Vaulted building recess

- 38 Famous dancing team of the '20s
- 41 French composer: Erik ____
- 43 Long Island Indian tribe
- 44 Antipathies
- 46 Cornish prefix: town
- 47 Produced
- 48 Simone Signoret film: *Madame ____*
- 49 Poetic contraction

DOWN

- 1 Benevolent society of policemen (abbr.)
- 2 Wax (Fr.)
- 3 Indicate in advance
- 4 Pertaining to a Fallopian organ
- 5 Tierra del Fuego Indians
- 6 Publicity announcements
- 7 French particle
- 8 Golf links
- 9 Injuries
- 10 Native clan "down under"

- 11 Starting place
- 14 Narrate
- 16 Solely
- 19 Wickerwork basket
- 21 Thirteen through nineteen
- 22 Fig. cast or wrought
- 23 Tilt
- 24 Spot of light on a radar screen
- 25 River into the Seine
- 26 Monetary unit of Denmark
- 29 Hinders passage across
- 3; Develop slowly
- 32 Be eagerly desirous
- 33 Upright support of a jib crane
- 35 Evaluated, *a la* Nielsen
- 36 Company of medieval guild merchants
- 38 Tricks or swindles
- 39 Entice
- 40 One who pieces out
- 41 Ground to air missile
- 42 Hummingbird
- 43 To low
- 45 Symbol for iridium

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Camp David accords

Continued from page 3.

ment differs in some fundamental ways from that of his co-signatories. For example, the Israeli commitment, alluded to repeatedly by President Carter, to refrain from establishing new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza for the five-year transition period, is understood by Begin to apply only to the three-months period of forthcoming negotiations with Egypt. Israel has no intention, according to him, of ever withdrawing its forces completely from the West Bank and Gaza; the five-year transition period itself, he claims, can be extended if necessary.

PLO ignored.

But whatever the fate of the second document, the real agreement reached at Camp David, the Israeli-Egyptian one, will probably take effect without major delays. How long it will remain in force, however, is anybody's guess.

Even assuming that Jordan, Saudi Arabia and some pro-Hussein notables in the West Bank and Gaza agree to cooperate (which seems like a reasonable assumption, given the kind of pressure the U.S. is going to apply), the two parties left out of the deal—Syria and the PLO, would still be able to put this Pax Americana under tremendous strain.

This will be especially easy to do once the Egyptian people realize that the economic benefits promised to them are not going to materialize, in spite of Egypt's new-found place at the heart of the Western world. When that happens, every opposition leader in search of a rallying slogan will remind the people of Sadat's historic betrayal of the Palestinians, and if a war between Israel and Syria breaks out (due, perhaps, to Palestinian provocations from Lebanon), Sadat, or his successor, would find it very difficult to stay aloof.

Any agreement that does not take into account the Jewish-Palestinian conflict cannot be a peace agreement, at least not for long. And the Camp David accords

clearly leave the Palestinians in a position where diplomacy seems to have reached a dead end, and intensified armed struggle is their only recourse. But in the present political climate in the Mideast, this outcome could have been easily predicted.

Not only are Israel and Jordan—each for its own reasons—dead set against an independent Palestinian state, but the two most important powers in the region—Saudi Arabia and Iran—are opposed to it as well. Their concern is that a relatively democratic, relatively progressive state (as the Palestinian state is bound to be because of the history of its struggle and the highly politicized population it would have to govern) would serve as both model and haven for insurgent movements fighting their own reactionary regimes.

Egypt, too, is not keen on seeing such a state come into being in the Mideast, and is certainly not ready to defer its own aims in order to help bring it about. Thus, with Syria and the Soviet Union out of the negotiating process, the Palestinians were left without any supporters in the diplomatic arena.

Israel gives up security.

The big losers in Camp David were the Palestinians and the chances for peace in the Mideast. But another major loser, paradoxically, was Israel. In return for a separate agreement with Egypt, bound, by its very nature, to be a shaky and temporary one, the Israeli government gave up the Sinai, an area that could have been an important negotiating asset in real peace talks.

In the process, Israel gave up a major security consideration—the complete demilitarization of the Sinai. The stationing of a full Egyptian division in the Sinai, with freedom of movement up to the Mitla and Gidi passes, represents a military setback for Israel, relative to the situation that prevailed in the area from 1957 to 1967.

At that time, the Sinai was practically demilitarized by a de facto agreement. When Nasser broke the agreement, and introduced Egyptian forces into the peninsula in May 1967, the Six Day War broke out, in which the Egyptian forces were decimated before they could be properly deployed.

On the West Bank, too, Israel's security interests suffered a severe blow. By setting in motion a process that might end in renewed Jordanian occupation of the West Bank, Begin had undercut future Israeli demands that the West Bank be demilitarized. Unlike an independent Palestinian government, King Hussein will not be able to remain on the West Bank without the deployment of massive forces to suppress the local inhabitants (as was the case up to 1967).

But the Israeli negotiators subordinated these security considerations to the prospects of continued Israeli rule over the West Bank and Gaza. The reason behind this apparently irrational choice is that a few more years of economic exploitation of the West Bank and Gaza mean a great deal to those in Israel who benefit from this arrangement. And they, together with their ultra-nationalist ideologues, have been able to determine Israeli policy for the last 11 years.

Sadat a winner.

If both Israel and the Palestinians have been designated losers, Sadat must be designated winner at the Camp David

game. He achieved a goal he has been pursuing, through various means, for over seven years. And the celebrated concessions he made were, after all, not at his, but at the Palestinians' expense. As a result, his constituency—the upper layers of Egyptian society—will be able to enjoy, at least for a while, the fruits of peace and foreign investments.

The best thing that can be said about the Camp David accords is that they do not constitute the final word in the drama of the Mideast. The present constellation of forces is bound to change, and when the issues are reopened, a few of the provisions included in these agreements could serve as important points of departure.

For example, Israel's agreement to dismantle the Sinai settlements (assuming such an agreement will really come about) provides an obvious precedent for those in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. Also, the mention of the "legitimate rights of the Palestinians," and their inclusion in the negotiating process, as well as the explicit reference to Resolution 242, could function in the same way.

When and how these issues will come up again for discussion is not easy to predict. It may be hoped that this will happen without further bloodshed, but the Camp David agreements do not guarantee that at all.

Yoav Peled is an Israeli citizen studying in the U.S.

Israeli responses

Continued from page 3.

and the local leaders in the areas (at least most of them) oppose it and regard it as a sellout by Sadat.

From the point of view of an Arab, Sadat's move is really a sellout. But for Israelis who support self-determination of the Palestinians it is difficult to oppose the Begin-Sadat agreement. How can a moderate Israeli oppose withdrawal of the army from Sinai and evacuation of settlements in occupied territories? It seems that the Israeli Communist party is about

to do so.

In line with the Soviet Union, Rakah—the Israeli CP—calls the agreements an imperialist plot to be opposed by progressives. But other Israeli leftists, not to mention the Peace Now group (which brought 100,000 people to demonstrate against Begin before he left for Camp David) support the agreement and at the same time criticize its clauses regarding the Palestinians.

Gidion Eshet is an Israeli journalist and IN THESE TIMES' regular correspondent in Israel.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

Wilmar women don't bank on fairness

By Anthony Schmitz

ONE THING LEO PIRSCH HAS learned is that it doesn't help his case to talk about the eight striking women who have picketed his bank for the past nine months. "I don't want to talk about it," Pirsch says, then turns back to work laid out on his large wooden deck in Wilmar, Minn.

Pirsch is president of Citizen's National Bank, the smallest of three banks in Wilmar, a usually quiet town of 13,600 on the central Minnesota prairie. Pirsch's troubles started simply enough: He passed over a number of female employees and hired a male for a management trainee position. Women with up to 20 years of banking experience helped train the new man, then found out later that they were paid \$300 to \$396 less per month.

"We're not all equal."

Pirsch, a bald man with an opulent figure, explained the wage difference in unfortunate terms. "We're not all equal, you know," he told a female employee. Trying to clear matters up later, he said, "Sure, everyone isn't equal. You have the president and the officers up here"—Pirsch held his hand in mid air—"and you have the bank employees down here." His hand sunk toward the floor.

"This isn't a fight over unions," Pirsch concluded. "These girls are being exploited by the National Organization for Women."

Pirsch now finds his bank under seige, the only bank to be struck in Minnesota's history. Eight female employees filed a sex discrimination charge against the bank, formed a union, went on strike and filed unfair labor practices charges with the National Labor Relations Board. These days Pirsch enters the bank in the morning through the back door and leaves at night through the back door.

On the front lawn his striking employees are dug in for a long strike. Picket signs are wound between plastic strips of lawn chairs and an eight track tape player rests underneath a chair with tapes spilling across the grass. Five strikers with tenure at the bank ranging from ten months to ten years lounged outside Citizen's National, hooting "Scab!" and "Kooknossi!" (a play on strikebreakers pulling into the parking lot).

Glennis Anderson had worked at the bank for only a few months before the male management trainee was brought in at \$700 a month. At the minimum wage, she made closer to \$400 a month. The male employee had a college degree, but the difference seemed unwarranted. To striker Irene Wallin, a mother of three with 20 years of banking experience, the wage seemed plainly discriminatory. Her monthly salary is \$975. "And I had to help train him," she said from her lawn chair outside the bank.

With nine other female employees, they filed a sex discrimination claim that started with the Minnesota Human Rights Commission and finally came to a bureaucratic rest with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Chicago. They say that a policy of harassment was begun against them at the bank shortly afterward.

Management began leaning on women who filed the charge, causing two of them to ask that their names be removed from the complaint. "We were criticized," Anderson said. "Whatever we did was always wrong." Women who filed the complaint were assigned to the drive-in windows more frequently—an unpopular task—and often had their hours changed.

By May of last year the women voted in



Three of the eight women strikers picket in front of the Citizens Bank in Wilmar, Minnesota. They have been on strike for nine months.

In the winter the women picketed wearing snowmobile suits, scarves up to their eyes, and heavy boots.

a union called the Willmar Bank Employees Association, an unaffiliated local. They started contract negotiations with the bank, demanding a union shop. Contract negotiations stalled last December, and by Dec. 16 the eight union members were out on the street picketing.

Minnesota winters.

Minnesota, they discovered, is an unpleasant location for a long strike. The wind rips across the fields and the temperature is usually a depressing conversation topic. The women picketed the bank in shifts from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. daily, wearing snowmobile suits, scarves wound up to their eyes and heavy boots.

About \$30,000 in donations fueled the strike over the past nine months, with

large contributions coming from the AFL-CIO and the Minnesota Education Association. Strike headquarters in the basement of the Willmar Labor Home is wall-papered with letters from supporters around the country who made small donations.

The bank, meanwhile, has had less luck gathering support. Bankers in a northern county said in May that they received letters from Pirsch at Citizens National asking for contributions to help pay the bank's legal expenses. Ruth Danielson, president of the Atwater State Bank, answered that she wouldn't send a contribution and added that she thought the strike and delays in reaching a settlement gave banking "a bad name."

"Publicly, the other banks can't sup-

port us," said a Citizens National director who refused to be identified. "They won't touch us with a ten-foot pole—publicly. They have given us hidden moral support. It's not public. It's hidden." But customers themselves are less obtuse about their stand. Bank officials admitted early in the strike that \$600,000 had been withdrawn by customers since the strike began.

Still, Willmar is not a strong labor town. Railroad workers are organized, as are telephone and state hospital workers and highway crews. But at Jennie-O Turkey Farms nearby, 800 employees voted out the union by a two-to-one margin last fall. Most other workers in the city, according to striker Sylvia Erickson, work for the minimum wage.

"Preventative medicine."

Willmar businessmen have remained generally inscrutable during the strike. Chamber of Commerce manager Roger Nygaard hazarded only the most cautious of guesses and said he thought the business community supported the bank. John Mack, an attorney who handled legal work for the strikers, claims he had less subtle dealing with businessmen. Mack was chairman of the county Independent Republicans. He quit early this summer after businessmen told him that donations would be scarce in the fall campaigns if he continued to defend the bank union.

Other bank employees in Willmar have shown little interest in organizing, waiting instead to see what happens to the strikers at Citizens National. "The other banks are watching to see if we go down the drain," striker Andresen said. "Their management is applying a lot of preventative medicine now," raising pay and juggling hours to keep employees contented. None of them wants to have the first union bank in Minnesota," she said. (Only one other bank in the state is unionized, and that bank is owned by a union.)

Whether or not the strike succeeds may be settled soon, when federal judge Elbert Gadsden makes a decision on an unfair labor practices suit between the bank and the union. The bank is charged with failure to bargain in good faith, threatening to replace union members with other workers and excluding strikers from a company picnic. If the women win the NLRB case, the bank will be forced to hire them back or make an appeal. An appeal means more delay, and Erickson said last week that "the bank knows that stalling is their best weapon. They've stalled all this time hoping we'd go away. We won't." Losing the case means an end to the strike but no jobs.

The bank already lost one round in court when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission decided that the bank owed \$11,700 in back wages to strikers and other female employees.

Pirsch, a harried traditionalist, observed early on that his striking employees were "attacking all banks by attacking us." The outcome will certainly be watched closely by bankers across the country who, according to the American Bankers Association, only rarely are forced to contend with unionized employees. The strike is one of the few ever called against a bank because only a handful of banks are organized.

In the Labor Home basement last week, Erickson looked forward to renewed contract negotiations if the NLRB case is settled favorably. "But the banking industry," she observed plainly, "doesn't want to see us succeed."

Anthony Schmitz is a free-lance writer in Minneapolis.

By Dan Rosen

NEW YORK

TO THE BASEBALL PURIST, THE script was perfect. The New York Yankees, last year's champions given up for dead, were coming into Fenway Park for a four-game series trailing their old rivals, the Boston Red Sox, by four games. The lengthening shadows, the hint of fall in the air underscored the importance of the series. This was September, when baseball games change from mid-summer respite to the classic contexts of skill and grace that thrill every fan. In Boston and New York, people changed weekend plans to be near a TV for the epic struggle.

The result was a farce. The Yankees swept four games from the hapless Bosox, battering them for an incredible 42 runs and 67 hits. The Sox committed 11 errors while watching the Yankees eat up their pitching for an awesome .395 average.

In Boston, they called it another massacre. The Yankees, 14 games out in mid-July, departed Boston tied for first place, leaving the Red Sox to reap abuse from their notoriously fickle fans and press. And in New York, the smug and faithful alike felt fortune had smiled on the virtuous.

As the dust began to settle, one thing was clear. The Yankees had seized the momentum from the Red Sox, who earlier in the season had seemed invincible. In the week following this calamity, the Yankees moved into a 1½-game lead.

A return series the following weekend (Sept. 15-17) at Yankee Stadium offered little hope to Bosox fans as the Yankees took two games and sent Boston packing, 2½ games off the lead.

The decisive blow, though, was struck in the first September meeting between the two rivals. On a cool Thursday night (Sept. 7) in Fenway Park—the Yankees routed the Red Sox 15-3, pounding out 21 hits. Ex-Yankee Mike Torrez, who before the game talked of liking “pressure situations,” was kayoed in the second inning. The Red Sox cause was not helped by two throwing errors by third-baseman Butch Hobson, whose injured elbow created a gaping hole in the Sox defense. More ominous for Boston's cause was the multitude of Yankee hits.

For this observer, the Red Sox perfor-

mance brought back memories of the 1964 Phillies, who managed to blow a six-game lead with ten games to play. The Big Apple came to town and the Red Sox simply choked on it.

Injuries hamper Sox.

There are some extenuating circumstances that might explain the Sox' futility. The club has been hit with injuries. Second baseman Jerry Remy was out of the lineup. Third-baseman Butch Hobson played with bone chips in his elbow. His two errors both resulted in runs. Catcher Carlton Fisk, one of the best in the game, played with a broken rib. His three throwing errors also resulted in runs. And Dwight Evans, whom many consider the finest outfielder in baseball, played dizzy after being beamed recently. The usually peerless Evans dropped one fly ball and threw another ball away before removing himself from the lineup.

The Yankee menagerie.

The Red Sox began to take on the Yankees' penchant for internal dissent. Shortstop Rick Burleson criticized Evans for removing himself from the lineup: “We have a guy who pulls himself out of a game after making two errors. They had a guy (Reggie Jackson) come out of the hospital to play in this series. That's how much it meant to them.”

For Yankee fans the reversal of fortune

was sublime. Before the season the World Champions were considered a shoo-in for another title. The best team in baseball had strengthened itself in the off-season with the addition of starter Andy Messersmith and ace reliever Rich Gossage. But then injuries wrecked what looked like the finest pitching staff in baseball. Messersmith was cut down in spring training, and Don Gullet developed a sore arm. Catfish Hunter, suffering from arm trouble, proved ineffective. Early in the season the Yankees were struggling and the tension between slugger Reggie Jackson and manager Billy Martin began to tear the team apart. By mid-July, after losing a crucial series to the Red Sox, the Yanks were a hopeless 14 games off the pace and fading.

Then the tension between Martin and Jackson exploded. Jackson, fed up with Martin's gibes and rumor-mongering, willfully disobeyed a sign to hit away and bunted for a third strike. Martin suspended Jackson. But when Jackson returned from the suspension impenitent, Martin, whose drinking problem was no secret, was enraged. He told reporters that Jackson and owner George Steinbrenner, who had signed Jackson over Martin's objections, deserved each other. “They're both liars,” said Martin. “One's a born liar, the other convicted,” alluding to Steinbrenner's felony conviction for illegal contributions to the Nixon campaign in

1972.

This was too much for Steinbrenner, who last year had gotten the fiery manager to agree to a set of rules that included no public criticism. Martin was replaced by Bob Lemon, a low-key, experienced baseball man. But then Steinbrenner added to the confusion by dramatically announcing on Old-Timers Day that Martin had been rehired for the 1980 season.

No one's figured that one out yet. In July it only added to the image of the Bronx Bombers now transformed into what the press referred to as the Bronx Zoo. The bickering between players, especially the super-sensitive Jackson and the prickly catcher Thurman Munson, encouraged most fans to give up the season for lost.

Time running out.

But under Lemon the Yankees began to play solid baseball. The return of Hunter to the starting rotation, his sore arm cured by the latest orthopedic miracle, helped. So did the first Red Sox slump of the season that reduced the lead to the vicinity of eight games. Under Lemon the Yankees have played 34-13, .730 baseball while the Red Sox have been limping along near the .500.

When the Red Sox arrived in New York the following Friday (Sept. 15) following the “massacre,” they showed few signs of revival. In the first game Guidry victimized them again with another two hit shut-out. The Yanks took the second game 3-2, winning in the ninth inning on a Mickey Rivers triple and Thurman Munson's sacrifice fly. Finally on Sunday (Sept. 17) the Red Sox broke the jinx, winning 7-3.

The Red Sox left New York 2½ games behind the Yankees with time running out. The loss of center fielder Fred Lynn with a sprained ankle will not aid Boston's cause. Of course, “anything can happen,” but as of this writing the Yankees appear to have the edge. If they do win, they will have achieved one of the most remarkable comebacks in baseball history. Only the 1914 Boston Braves, who charged from last place on July 4 to a pennant, will have accomplished a longer journey than the Yankees.

Dan Rosen is a free-lance writer in New York and a baseball fan.

SPORTS

Boston Red Sox eat Yankee dust

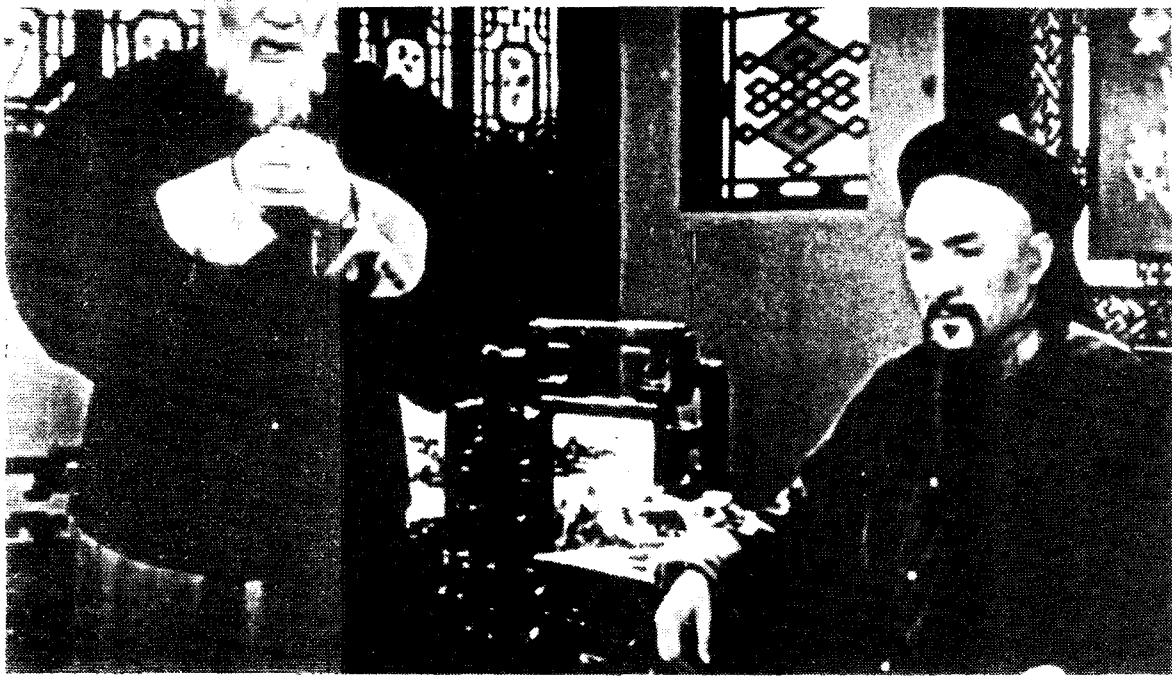
“We (the Sox) have a guy who pulls himself out of the game after making two errors. They had a guy come out of the hospital to play. That's how much it meant to the Yankees.”

FANS



PHOTOGRAPH BY MEG GERKEN

ENTERTAINMENT



FILM

China sends U.S. static sentimentality

LIN TSE-HSU (The Opium War)
Directed by Chen Chun-ji
Produced by the Haiyan Film Studio, Shanghai
Released by the Sino-American Corp., New York

Lin Tse-hsu (The Opium War) is the first film from the People's Republic of China to be released commercially in the U.S. It was made in 1959 for the tenth anniversary of the Chinese Revolution. Its star, Chao Tan, was a prominent target of abuse during the Cultural Revolution, and reportedly because of his connection to it, *Lin Tse-hsu* was one of many films suppressed during the Cultural Revolution.

The film celebrates both Imperial Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu's war against opium and the British and the beginnings of a popular anti-imperialist resistance. The film's attempt to honor both the Imperial Commissioner and the common people reveals some of the tensions in Chinese Marxist politics and art.

The film begins with the Emperor's decision in 1839 to send Lin to Canton to end the trade in opium and to restore China's prosperity, morality, and power. The foreign traders and the British Consul, aided by Chinese compradors, unite to protect their profits and the "rights" that allow them to flout Chinese law. Lin obtains and destroys the foreigners' inventories of opium and strengthens the provincial defense by obtaining modern armaments. Lin is incorruptible, firm, and clever, qualities that inspire the masses, who aid him at critical moments. In contemporary Chinese language, he is both "red and expert."

The film's second half traces Lin's fall and prefigures the future role of the Chinese masses, who will accomplish his broad mission. Fled with slander from Lin's enemies, the veiled Emperor replaces him with a new commissioner, who sabotages the military defense that Lin had begun. Lin is disgraced. With official China corrupted or neutralized, the people, led by a villager, repulse a foreign attack on Canton. An overvoice informs us that this was the beginning of the Chinese struggle for independence.

Two-dimensional characters.

The film's subject is a moral man, a reformer confronting a situation that requires revolutionary changes. For the theme to work, the filmmaker must dramatize the real power relationships in the period. The portrayal of Lin's adversaries mute his historical dilemma.

The Europeans, played by Chinese-speaking westerners, are knaves and fools, alternatively arrogant and cringing. Cartoon adversaries might work in a film conceived as abstract pageantry or Brechtian theater. But *The Opium War* is realistic. Its script and film technique invite personal identification with Lin. The period details are faithful. A scene depicting the destruction of cadices of opium reproduce the actual process that the real Lin had devised.

The portrayal of the foreigners cannot be attributed to the chauvinistic legacy of the Chinese Empire. The compradors in Canton and the bureaucrats at the Emperor's court in Peking are two-dimensional. Their tricks and slander, which Lin easily overcomes in the movie's first half, do not explain Lin's fall in the second half.

The failure to examine the decay of the social class that Lin represents leaves only villainy to explain Lin's removal from office. In the morass of bourgeois greed and official corruption, Lin's nobility, selflessness and compassion are so attractive that one ignores his political limitations and his dependence on the social order he tries to reform. Without the tension between his contradictory goals—his loyalty to the Emperor and the people—he is diminished, transformed into a victim. The film falters with him.

Lin asserts his fealty to the Empire despite its personal and political price. That act carries with it a vision of China inseparable from imperial rule. (It explains the real Lin's later rehabilitation by the Emperor to aid in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion, a popular uprising that began nine years after the events of this film.)

When the villagers, frustrated with the inaction of the new regime in Canton, ask the deposed

Lin to lead them in defense of the city, he tells them that he can do nothing. Although the incident is probably apocryphal, it is historically and dramatically valid. But he also tells them that they must defend the city. It is improbable that the man who saw freedom only in the context of imperial order now urges autonomous peasant defense. The scene becomes static despite the villagers' enthusiastic response to the advice.

Voluntarism, populism, nationalism.

Superficially critical of the mandarins, the film does not hint at the source of their power within China. Villagers utter clichés because the film deprives them of the social motivation that produced peasant resistance. They are happy and prosperous in the film. They only lack moral leaders. In one scene, Lin, observing their work on the military fortifications he ordered, remarks, with admiration: "These youngsters can accomplish anything." (Great Leap Forward?)

To make a good film about the Opium War one must be as interested in its human and political conflicts. This film, riveted on laudable political ambitions, does not relinquish them long enough to create a coherent and engaging story.

Voluntarism is an appropriate theme for a film celebrating revolution. Perhaps the studio chose the wrong subject for the occasion. An alleged national need for compensatory history is a common justification for revisionism. However, China's past is not more painful than the history of Cuba or Senegal, which have produced penetrating films about imperialism that avoid the distortion and sentimentality of *The Opium War*. In his devastating, but credible portrait of the slave master in the film *Good Friday*, the Cuban filmmaker Tomas Alea demonstrated that political judgments and complexity can be joined successfully.

The Opium War's populism, nationalism and voluntarism are characteristics of Chinese Marxism. Although successful in revolution, they seem to be less adequate guides today. The current resumption of Chinese film production will inevitably speak to these issues. Whether or not they are fully explored will depend on the course of Chinese politics. ■

—Judith Stein

Judith Stein is a professor of history at New York University. She recently returned from China.

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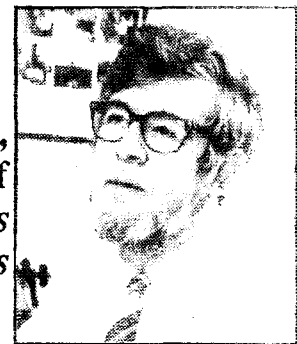
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ART

THE BUTCHER, THE BAKER, THE CANDLE STICK MAKER: IMAGES OF LABOR

By Barbara Garson

In every era artists have portrayed people at work. Usually this is not because artists espoused the labor theory of value, but because they are drawn to the heightened expression of emotions—love, despair, concentration, discouragement, exaltation, exhaustion, harmony—that could be found on the faces of people at work.

The results of this artistic concern are now on display in *Images of Labor*, an exhibit assembled from the collection and borrowing of Ben and Beatrice Gold-

stein that will be presented over the next year in union halls throughout New York state. The paintings and prints date from the 16th century to the present. Along with works by anonymous and unknown painters are those by masters like Rembrandt, Goya, Kathe Kollowitz and Raphael Soyer.

Aside from the intrinsic worth of each work, the exhibit is a striking historical essay on the changing image of labor. Rembrandt, for example, as far as we know, was not a left-winger—though perhaps it has always been somewhat radical to paint commoners instead of the people who could pay. Clearly he was attracted to the common laborer because of the intensity of expression he found there. His *Pancake Seller*, for instance, shows a rough street vendor being urged by a hungry crowd to turn over the next batch. But the pancake seller, crude and hardened as he is, is waiting—waiting for just the right moment. He knows his craft, and he's going to do it right. It's his concentration, the artistry and the grace that drew Rembrandt to this subject.

Factories without faces.

By the 19th century, workers were brought together into factories, where they inevitably formed organizations against their employers. The artists included in *Images of Labor* who chose to represent them after that point were generally on their side. In works like *Triangle Waist Fire* by Henry Glintenkamp, *Garment Strike* by Sarah Berman Beach, or *International* by Franz Masereel, workers are shown collectively, either



Upper left: WAITRESSES, Raphael Soyer, 1954. Top right: INTERNATIONALE, Franz Masereel, 1970. Bottom left: PANCAKE SELLER, Rembrandt, 1635. Bottom right: THE LITTLE TAILOR, William Gropper, 1975.

as an exploited or struggling class. In his woodcut illustrations for the song, *The International*, Masereel has created a series of almost abstract designs based on the mass, the unity and the force of the working class.

What is missing from the contemporary art is a Rembrandt to show the wit of the individual worker. Oddly enough, the recent pictures of individuals at work are almost all of subjects Rembrandt could have painted—a tailor, a waitress, a farmworker, a pimp. But where is the truly

modern worker? Among the 105 items that make up this show, there is not one realistic representation of the automated factory or office. No auto assemblers, no tuna packers, no key-punch operators, no encoding clerks. The only actual factory workers are shown during the change of shifts.

This does not mean that artists have lost interest in the human face. They simply can't find it on the job. The sense of struggle and accomplishment are systematically automated out. This is

an unfortunate characteristic of modern work, not modern art. Human emotions are relegated to two ten-minute breaks. Thus today's class-conscious artists portray industrial workers in mass—out on the streets. The non-political artists don't portray them at all.

Barbara Garson is the author of *All the Livelong Day: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work* (Penguin 1976), a book on the automated worker and the struggle to remain human on the job.

Images of Labor

SEPT. 7-OCT. 2: ILA Local 1814, 343 Court St., Brooklyn.

OCT. 9-OCT. 20: Amalgamated Meetcutters Local 34, 770 Maryvale Dr., Buffalo.

OCT. 23-NOV. 2: Forum Gallery, Jamestown Community College, Jamestown.

NOV. 7-NOV. 30: LaGuardia Community College, Long Island City.

DECEMBER: Albany (to be announced).

JAN. 5-FEB. 2, 1979: Henry St. Settlement House, 466 Grand St., New York City.

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LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY In These Times Associates invites ITT readers to a party, Saturday evening, Sept. 30, at 454 S. Ashland Extension, Lexington, KY. Call 266-6076 for further info.

KENTUCKY READERS—Judy MacLean of the New American Movement will speak on "Socialist Response to Social Decay" Thursday, Oct. 5, 7 p.m. at the Lexington Public Library, 2nd Floor. Sponsored by Lexington ITT Associates.

CHICAGO READERS! Diana Johnstone, ITT Paris correspondent, will speak on "The Future of Europe: Capitalism or Socialism?" Tues., Oct. 3, 8 p.m., at Resurrection Lutheran Church, 3309 N. Seminary (enter School St.). Johnstone has recently reported on the Moro killing and the French elections, and has won high praise for her insights into European affairs. Co-sponsored by In These Times and Second City Socialist School.

FRED HAMPTON Appeal Trial needs funds. Please make checks payable to December 4 Committee, and send to Suite 1362, 53 W. Jackson, Chicago, IL 60604.

SECOND CITY Socialist School Fall Session begins Oct. 2. Classes: Basic Marx, Capitalism and Personal Life, Revolutionary Party, Political Theater, Middle East, S. Africa, Chicago Labor. Events: Talks by D. Johnstone, S. Aronowitz, J. Judis, others on Jews and the Left, Pensions and Politics, also Mural Tour. Call New American Movement, 871-7700.

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MISSOURI CITIZENS ACTION (MCA) a utility/energy action organization, has job openings for a Staff Director and a Canvass Coordinator. MCA operates an organizing and fund-raising door-to-door canvass based in St. Louis and has a small mid-Missouri office in Columbia.

STAFF DIRECTOR—responsible for coordinating full-time staff, acting as liaison between staff and the board of directors, organizing and coordinating research and community education, providing media outreach and engaging in some fund-raising and volunteer recruitment. Previous experience administering public interest or community groups is required.

CANVASS COORDINATOR—responsible for the overall planning and operation of the door-to-door canvass, including recruitment, hiring and evaluation of canvassers; coordination of canvasser and canvass-trainer briefings and training; supervision of turf clearance and any legal follow-up; coordination of canvasser materials and transportation; supervision of canvass organizing projects and some record-keeping and scouting of territory. Previous experience administering or supervising a door-to-door canvass operation is required.

Resume and salary requirements to: Bob Zeffert, Missouri Citizens' Action, 393 N. Euclid, Ste. 32, St. Louis, MO 63108.

PUBLICATIONS

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WRITERS

Novels and poems for, by and about blue-collar workers

By Tamin Ansary

SAN FRANCISCO

This city, which has helped nurture such writers as Mark Twain, Frank Norris, Dashiell Hammett, William S. Burroughs, Jack London, Lawrence Sanders and many more, is now giving rise to both a new group of writers and a new kind of writing.

Some call it the "literature of work," and for two good reasons: It is written, for the most part, by blue-collar workers, cab drivers and dock workers, and it depicts the special worlds defined by such work.

One of the most successful examples of this fledgling genre is a literary magazine called *The Deep City Press*, written, edited and published by cab drivers for cab drivers. It is one of several experiments here and in Los Angeles that might be forging an important new direction in contemporary writing.

Until now, workers' literature—a term the writers might scoff at—usually languished in a dresser drawer, according to George Benet, a longshoreman poet and novelist, because there seemed to be no audience. "The big magazines and publishers wanted something more glamorous. And the little non-commercial publications leaned towards the avant garde or the academic."

The Deep City Press, however, revealed that people writing about their work could find an audience in the men and women who shared their occupation. Ralph Hoffschmidt, editor and publisher of the magazine, proved that this sort of publishing could be done without a great deal of capital or fancy equipment.

Worlds shaped by work.

The Deep City press is typed on an IBM typewriter, laid out in a spare bedroom of Hoffschmidt's house and printed in his basement on a mimeograph machine. Yet the magazine featuring three-color reproductions and artful lay-out, sells 1,700 copies an issue at a dollar each—highly successful for a small literary magazine.

Publication is not the only way to reach an audience. The Waterfront Writers, a group of San Francisco dock workers, grew out of reading sessions organized last year by Benet and Bob Carson, a longshoreman and poet. Four dock workers read the first night, and 50 people attended.

Since then, the audience has grown, and the group has 15 members, including artists and photographers. Most are from Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. They have published two small volumes of stories and verse, but public readings remain their major forum.

Sharing their art with fellow workers has changed how and what the writers write. Gene Dennis of the Waterfront Writers, for example, worked on a screenplay for several years. The work was based on an incident that took place on the docks, but, Dennis said, "there was this idea that the function of it was to sell it to Hollywood."

lywood, and that idea wrote the screenplay. I put a lot of gratuitous sex and violence into it.

"Since I started reading with the Waterfront Writers, I've been drawing a lot more on my own experiences, my reactions to the work and to changes in the work, my relationships with the other guys. The Waterfront Writers gives me an incentive to come to terms with these things. Without it I'm not sure I would focus so much on this part of my life," he said.

The *Waterfront Writers* and the *Deep City Press* portray whole worlds shaped by work, worlds that suggest that workers live in a variety of sub-cultures defined by their trades, each with its own mythology and its characteristic physical and mental landscapes.

"Death on Watchman Way," for example, about the murder of Michael Albert, a cab driver who worked nights, evokes a dread that is peculiar to the trade of driving a taxi. "The face of Michael Albert haunts every cab driver, deep-seated but not dwelled upon," said the editor in a note.

Manuscripts in closets.

Dockwork is also dangerous, but the threat of being crushed by a 20-ton cargo container has a different psychological quality from that of being shot by a "load," as cab drivers call their passengers.

Cab drivers are loners in an urban labyrinth, intimately familiar with the byways and back alleys of the city. Many dock workers, on the other hand, not only work, but live, shop and socialize on the waterfront. Some never leave the area for years at a time and get lost when they try to take a cross-town bus. In fact, the erosion of this sheltered, self-contained world by automation in the industry and other social forces forms one of the overriding concerns common to the Waterfront Writers.

Cab drivers and dock workers are not the only blue-collar authors. Singlejack Press, a small "workers' press" in Los Angeles committed to publishing such material for a mass audience, has been astonishingly successful. The operation, run by longshoreman Bob Miles and retired longshoreman Stanley Weir, started with the intention of publishing just one book, a collection of short stories and poetry by George Benet.

"We knew George and we knew he had a closetful of writing that he wasn't doing anything with," Weir said, "so we talked him into letting us select some and put together a book. After *A Place in Colusa* came out we started to think maybe there were other people out there with good manuscripts sitting in their closets. So we decided to keep the operation going and see what happened."

They soon were put in touch with Steve Packard, a steelworker in Gary, Ind. His book, *Steel-mill Blues*, became Singlejack's project. After that came *Longshoring on the San Francisco Waterfront* by Reg Theriault, vice-president of Local 6 of the



ILWU; and *Directory Assistance—the Story of a Telephone Worker*, written anonymously by a telephone operator.

A novel called *Going Down* by Oliver Ote, a Detroit caseworker, deals with life in the social service bureaucracy and is now at the printers. The latest project is a chronicle of working life by a keno dealer in a Reno casino.

Another Singlejack book, *One Year in an American Factory*, is by Maynard Sider, an academic sociologist, who worked in a factory for a year because he could not find a job in his field.

Discussing that book, Weir said he was reminded of Harvey Swados who, in the mid-'50s, went to work in a factory in order to write his novel, *On the Line*.

"The literary establishment of the time ridiculed Swados, ridiculed the idea that you had to do the work to write about it or even that work was worth writing about," Weir said. "But Swados complained then, and it has pretty much remained true until recently, that American literature contains no examination of work, no recognition of the dominant role it plays in most people's lives. And because of that lack, Americans don't really know what each other does."

According to Bob Carson of the Waterfront Writers, the time is ripe for change. "There is an upsurge of interest in the literature of work," he said. "Why else would 2 million people buy a book like Studs Terkel's *Working*. ■

(©1978 Pacific News Service)
Tamin Ansary is a free-lance journalist.

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The Greatest (again)

Tom Greensfelder



By Joe Heumann

The big fellahs were at it again in New Orleans last week, slugging it out before 70,000 paying customers, while another 100 million spectators followed every punch on commercial TV. With all the brouhaha you'd think the multitudes were witnessing nothing less than the landing of the first Martian on Earth, but the excitement was all caused by that ground-bound luminary, Muhammad Ali.

This time Ali decided to appear as the weary, age-wracked challenger, fighting to regain his heavyweight title, which he had handed to Leon Spinks on a golden platter last February. At that time (as told in the Jan. 4 issue of *ITT*) I thought that a raw kid with only seven fights to his credit would be set back on his heels for 15 rounds by the bored but competent champion. But Ali, as always, fooled everyone. He came into the fight fat and played the old tune of rope a dope, which enabled the energetic Spinks to pummel his arms and forehead. This strategy of passivity cost Ali six out of the first nine rounds. While the rest of the fight turned into a war, the older athlete could not play the catch-up necessary to retain his crown. Ali almost went down himself. By allowing Spinks to play the cheerful workman against his limpid rag doll, Ali turned an easy payday into a self-constructed nightmare.

Ali wanted a return bout and Spinks obliged. This gesture of goodwill cost Spinks half of his title, as the World Boxing Association withdrew their recognition and proclaimed Ken Norton champ by default. (Norton went out and lost his half of the title to Larry Holmes last June.) But Spinks' seeming sacrifice also netted him \$3.8 million to meet Ali. The ex-champ was the only person who

could have made such a munificent bounty possible.

This time the real Ali showed up to fight and Leon Spinks was given a lesson in the intricacies of the sweet science by the most learned professor of the field. Ali weighed in at a very light 221, which allowed him to dance for most of the bout. His combinations were slower than they used to be, but were effective as he stayed in the middle of the ring where Spinks' ability to brawl was neutralized. Whenever Spinks attacked Ali would wrap him up, slip punches or throw counters. Ali had claimed that he had puzzled out his opponent and his actions confirmed his theories. Ali has always possessed an analytic mind, capable of creating winning strategies. Brains won this fight as much as anything else, but desire was the glue that put it all together.

The fight was quite tame, because Ali set the pace from the outset. Spinks came into the ring in fine fettle and left it without a mark on his body. The younger man is still raw and untutored, and his mauling style of pursuit needs an accommodating foe. Ali played that game in February, but this time decided to write, score, choreograph and direct the new version. Spinks later claimed that he left his fight out of the ring, which was a gentle affirmation of Ali's decisive victory. I scored the fight 12-3 and the judges and referee were only a little less generous (the scores were 11-4, 10-4-1, 10-4-1). Ali had pulled off yet another resurrection. It is interesting to speculate why.

Training is no fun.

Ali's attempt to become the first man to capture the heavyweight crown three times seemed to provide the impetus necessary to train hard for the New Orleans affair. No one denied Ali's super-

ior boxing skills (Ali was the betting favorite in both matches), but many questioned his willingness to train hard for a tough match against a man 11 years younger.

Training is no fun, even when you just think about it. It's much worse if you have to do it. It involves months of running, jumping, stretching, wood-chopping, stretching and kneading. Then there is the sparring: hundreds of rounds against a variety of partners. There's the light and heavy bags that have to be hit so that the reflexes stay sharp, so the fists remain fast. All this is preparation for hitting and getting hit by someone else. Training allows a conditioned fighter to take a body punch that would lay the average man out for a couple of days. Ali has taken punches to the head that could have knocked down walls, as Joe Frazier once said. For a man who has sat down with heads of state like Leonid Brezhnev, training really becomes a chore. John L. Sullivan once said that he would rather fight four times than train hard once and Ali would probably agree. This time he went through the hard work because he claimed that it was his last fight and that he wanted to leave the game as the only black heavyweight to retire with the crown. This goal was realized because Ali is no ordinary pugilist.

A sense of theater.

Ali is epic theater. He took boxing out of the sacred realm of sports and placed it on the front pages of the profane world. Ali attacked white America (and its control over sporting conventions) by destroying its concept of what the good black Christian gentleman athlete should be. He was fast with his fists and never humble in his place. His revolt turned him into a worldwide symbol of defiance.

During the war in Vietnam, Ali could

have joined the Army, as Joe Louis did during WWII. Many people said he should do just that. He would fight exhibitions like Louis did, he would be a symbol. But Ali did not. He knew how the government had worked over Louis after he left the service, hounding him for back taxes and leaving him penniless. He claimed he was ready to die rather than serve and he lost his title and the right to fight for three and a half years.

By refusing to embrace the dominant system, Ali made a permanent dent in American popular culture. He demonstrated that sports are not a pure and pristine area, producing fine and obedient players who symbolize all that is good about our way of life.

Ali contended that the inequalities inherent in American life were similar in American sports. He proved that these inequalities could be resisted and defied, and he did so while remaining a first-class athlete, a genuine crowd attraction. When he became a world-wide figure outside the boxing ring, Ali used his platform to help publicize aspirations he felt were of social importance. The only time he broke training this summer was to meet and help promote the march of American Indians that ended in Washington, D.C. His trainers claimed that he was hurting his conditioning program, but Ali declared that a fight took the back seat when his presence would help an important social movement.

If Ali really retires, and the guessing game will go on for at least six months, his impact will still be felt. He personified boxing to many people who never cared for the sport before. When he finally retires, the memories he produced will be measured more for their impact outside the ring than for his incredible exploits within it.

Joe Heumann writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.